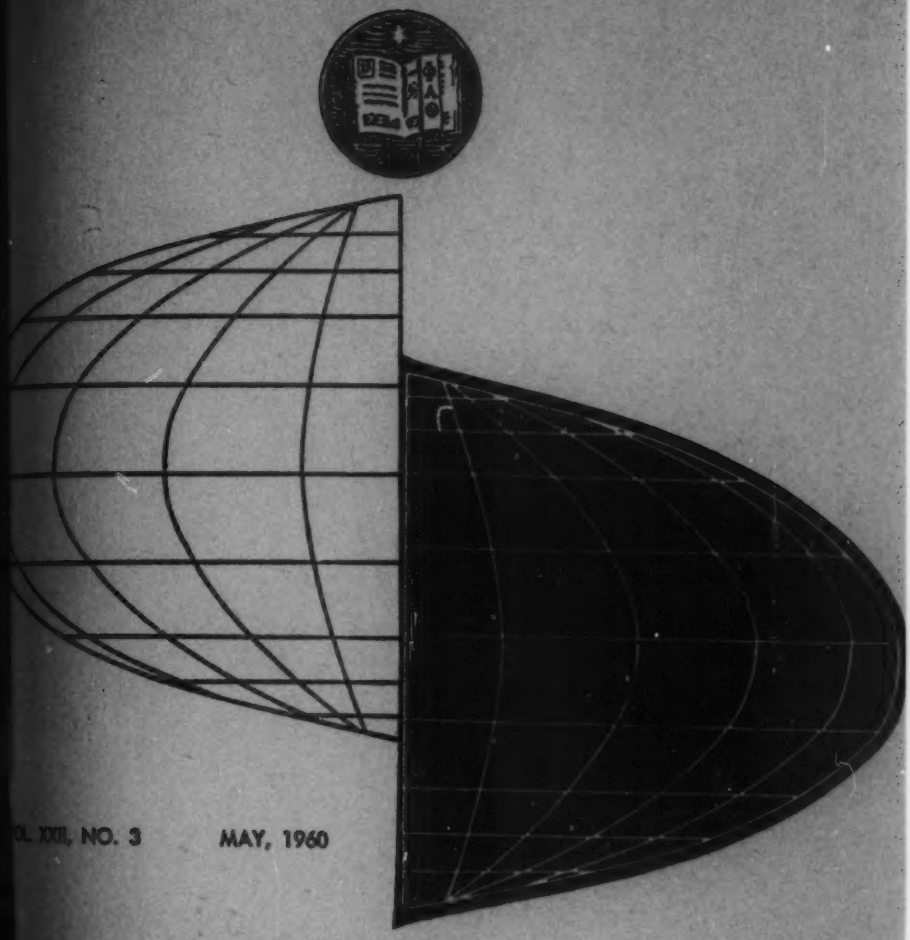

OL. XXII, NO. 3 MAY, 1960

The Historian
A Journal of History

ISSUED QUARTERLY BY PHI ALPHA THETA

The HISTORIAN

Published Quarterly by Phi Alpha Theta
National Honor Society in History

Member, Association of College Honor Societies

All correspondence in regard to articles for THE HISTORIAN should be directed to Joseph G. Rayback, Department of History, The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania. All business communications should be sent to Donald B. Hoffman, 2812 Livingston Street, Allentown, Pennsylvania. News items should be sent to the News Editor—Timothy McDonald, c/o Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. All books for review and correspondence regarding book reviews should be sent to Maurice G. Baxter, Department of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. Regular yearly subscription price to members, four dollars, non-members, five dollars.

Entered for second-class mailing at Allentown, Pa., and Albuquerque, N. M.

The Historian

VOLUME XXII, NO. 3 MAY, 1960

CONTENTS

The Usefulness of Useless Knowledge

PHILIP D. JORDAN *

THE text for this article is taken from the first chapter of the gospel according to Bertrand Russell. Found on page forty-eight of his essay on how to read and understand history it reads: "The State, when it educates you, has the public object of supplying you with useful knowledge."[1] If, perchance, the source of this text seems unorthodox—which, indeed, it is—I can provide the faithful with another. In the second verse of the fifteenth chapter of the Book of Job is written: "Should a wise man utter vain knowledge, and fill his belly with the east wind?"

Historians will recognize that each of these quoted texts is an historical source. Although one is more ancient than the other, there is no standard of criticism which validly maintains that an older source is truer and the more to be depended upon. Values do not necessarily grow better with age the way fine whiskey does. Each of these texts appears in type and so presumably must be of more than ordinary significance, for in this country that which is printed is considered more reliable than that which is not printed. This judgment is the reason why teachers can silence doubting Thomases by spreading wide a textbook and proclaiming, "It says so right here." This is an excellent classroom device, for at one and the same time it stifles curiosity in the student, relieves the instructor from the intellectual exertion of really meeting the challenge of doubt and skepticism, and makes the printing press a sort of contemporary Delphic oracle.

* The author, a member of Zeta Mu Chapter, is professor of history at the University of Minnesota.

[1] Bertrand Russell, *Understanding History and Other Essays* (New York, 1957), 48.

The textbook, a sort of outward manifestation of an inward disgrace, is symbolic of the emphasis placed upon the cult of usefulness and practicality which has grown with the years until now the cult is a mystic order whose priests hold that history must perform a truly utilitarian service to society. The teaching of history, it is argued, helps the child to be a better citizen; history helps to develop character and integrity in young Americans and aids the young person to become an informed citizen.

In short, the current feeling is that history, if it is to justify itself, must *do* something, and this something must be beneficial to society. History becomes, to quote Exodus, a balm of Gilead, "an oil of holy ointment, an ointment compounded after the art of the apothecary." To change the figure of speech: history is a tool which man can be taught to use in order to help him solve his problems. This itch to set Clio to doing something practical is not localized—it manifests itself among both professionals and laymen.

I can understand, by calling upon all my tolerance, the almost fierce demand for practicality made by non-scholars who want their children trained and equipped as they quaintly say "to meet life." But, even drawing upon all my patience, I cannot comprehend the teacher who emphasizes or recognizes only the useful or the utilitarian value of history. Perhaps I may relate the saga told of a youthful delegate to a convention of the National Council for the Social Studies, who stuck in the tar pit of usefulness. He too, like knights of old, conceived that history and the social sciences were embarked upon a noble mission of secular salvation. This young Don Quixote, whose lance was shattered before he smote the windmill, is alleged to have said:

> I spoke in the discussion period to the effect that our major task [the task of the social scientists] should be to make social science more scientific and not to desert social science for chemistry and physics. . . . I thought that the major task that faced us in social science was determining

which aspects of scientific methods which had proven successful in biology or astronomy or physics could be used in the study of human society.

If history is included among the social sciences, then this ardent young missionary would have history bend more and more to the scientific method to the end that more might be learned of human society. In a sense this earnest young man was only repeating Francis Bacon, who once said, that the natural scientist must "put Nature to the question." The only difficulty is that the historian is under no obligation to make up his mind about anything in any stated time period. History, despite what J. B. Bury wrote, is not a science. Indeed, it is doubtful whether history belongs in the same category as political science, sociology, anthropology, or geography.

Familiarity, as Arnold Toynbee has said, is the opiate of imagination; but unfamiliarity, I submit, may be the opiate of reason. Both the advocate of history as an utilitarian subject and the delegate who endorsed scientific methods seemed to be quite unaware that they were sponsoring a theory of progress enunciated by scholars of the Enlightenment. Among these, of course, were Turgot, who looked forward to a future perfection, and Condorcet, whose stimulating *Sketch of the Historical Progress of Mankind* pictured a coming era of sublime social perfection. If belief in providence was replaced by belief in progress, then most certainly progress became identified with the useful, the utilitarian, the materialistic. From here it is only one short step to a devastating conclusion: anything which is useful is socially good and desirable. To be of worth, history must be utilitarian. It must make good citizens, must train for social responsibility, must enable the indoctrinated to help solve man's problems. Useful knowledge is set against useless knowledge. The former has value; the latter is silly and wasteful.

No one can reasonably object to a technique or concept merely because it is useful. But this is not the point. The real

question is, Can any one object to an idea or a body of knowledge just because it is useless?

Is it not possible that throughout the long history of mankind useless, impractical ideas and methods have in some magical and mysterious fashion exerted a more useful influence than might be supposed? Always there is a difference between the philosophy of a beginning and the credo of an end result. In the case of history the butterfly does not always come from the caterpillar, although, on occasion, it may.

I invariably tell those of my students who have recently come from high school that they are about to taste the undiluted pleasure of investigating a body of knowledge which as a body of knowledge—not information—is absolutely useless. History, I explain, is an aggregation of truths, half-truths, semi-truths, fables, myths, rumors, prejudices, personal narratives, gossip, and official prevarications. It is a canvas upon which thousands of artists throughout the ages have splashed their conceptions and interpretations of a day and an era. Some motifs are grotesque and some are magnificent.

I confess to these young students that historians differ among themselves not only as to the nature of history but also as to the reliability of history. And at this point I enjoy quoting from the translator's preface of Abbé Clavigero's wondrous *History of Mexico,* which appeared in an English edition in 1807. "Partiality, prejudice, ignorance, credulity," wrote the translator, "have occasioned them [Spanish historians] all to blend so many absurdities and improbabilities with their accounts, that it has not been merely difficult, but altogether impossible, to ascertain the truth."

Up to this point many graduates from high school never had thought of history as a fragile reed, nor had they ever been introduced to it as a means by which to search for truth. For some students history always had been a vague something or other by which problems were solved. And the problems always seem rather insignificant. They may concern, for example, anything from the problem of building a frontier cabin

to the problem of segregation or sectarian prejudice or nativism or any one of a dozen or more other "problems" that had been created by boards of education which produce "guides to the social studies," most of which are actually misguided attempts to set the educational pattern in a form more rigid than any ever conceived by the scholastics. It is difficult to demonstrate that the problems so neatly conceived in the guides ever are solved in classrooms. Indeed, many have never been solved by anyone.

History, like the fine arts and like literature, should be an adventure of the mind. Let it remain an act of faith. History is really the core of a liberal arts education. History as a problem-solver degenerates to an exercise, a soft bit of profitless time consumption as unreal and as artificial as curriculum-makers can manufacture.

In this connection, I invariably ask students to read John Franklin Jameson's letter of December 22, 1906, to Robert S. Woodward. Jameson was an historian and Woodward was a scientist with a great enthusiasm for astronomy. Woodward argued that the Carnegie Institution should grant larger sums of money to the physical sciences—because they were of greater utility—than to historical investigation and research. Jameson replied in this fashion:

> It is just as essential to clear the human mind of error and set it thinking correctly upon the relations of man to man and of nation to nation as upon the relations of man to the universe; . . . an establishment dispensing money for such purposes in the twentieth century neglects a large part of its duty if it makes no systematic provision for those philological and literary studies out of which in the last fifty years so much has come.[2]

Let economics and political science and sociology, if they wish, become the practical problem-solvers. Permit them to be active, aggressive, militant. But separate them from history.

[2] Elizabeth Donnan and Leo F. Stock, eds., *An Historian's World: Selections from the Correspondence of John Franklin Jameson* (Philadelphia, 1956), 103.

for they do not belong together. If such a separation could be accomplished, it might relieve the history teacher from the profitless burden of concentrating so much upon beads of fact strung upon the ribbon of time. It might then be possible to see and think of history not only as an accumulation of events but also as a wide humanistic avenue leading to the gates of knowledge. Then might occur what Benedetto Croce describes in a chapter filled with dramatic suggestion:

> When the mind prepares itself for historical reflection and research, what the poet said happens. We climb the peak of the centuries whence our eye dominates countries and cities which were previously seen only sketchily and piecemeal, and aspects of life which were at first veiled by the smoke of action now seem limpid.[3]

This quotation does not mean that I advocate the substitution of speculation for the study of facts—whatever facts are. I am only suggesting that, perhaps too frequently, speculation suffers because of an overemphasis upon concrete, specific details. Knowledge of tangibles is significant if only to prove social conformity and adjustment. Thus, every child should know that George Washington was the first president of his country just as every child should learn how to knot the laces of his shoes, but which bit of knowledge is the more important is difficult to say. The point lies not in this over-simplified illustration, but in the fact that many teachers today seem unable to distinguish between the uselessness of useful knowledge and the usefulness of useless knowledge. In short, they lack an idea of history, or, perhaps, a philosophy of history.

The search for meaning in history is not easy, but neither is it beyond a student's capabilities. The student must collect a corpus of facts; he must master their historical anatomy; he must collect specimens of human events. But these facts, this anatomy, and these specimens do not in and of themselves con-

[3] Benedetto Croce, *History as the Story of Liberty* (New York, 1955), ch. X for a fuller discussion.

stitute history, for as yet they have no meaning. They are quite useless—as meaningless as an exposed ulna in a dissecting room before the medical student knows that the ulna fits into the arm and that the arm is a part of a complete skeleton.

It was Voltaire who invented and made popular the term "philosophy of history." And what he meant by this phrase is not what some other historians have had in mind. Voltaire, it is generally agreed, repudiated reliance upon old yarns and traditions and desired each historian to think for himself: critical thinking and independent thinking, he said, were the hallmarks of the historian. Hegel took the expression "philosophy of history" to mean the thinking about the world as a whole, about the complete universe. But the nineteenth-century positivists, differing from both Voltaire and Hegel, searched for the uniform laws which governed all history. They were bloodhounds, running with noses to the ground after elusive facts. Once these facts were captured they might, if understood, result in the discovery of laws for the unlocking of the secrets of society. Each of these schools, to again quote Job, said: "Hearken to me; I also will shew my opinion."

Many of the philosophic schools have attempted to demonstrate the usefulness and the practicality of history. And each in large measure has failed, if only for the reason that not one among them has been able to agree with the others upon what constitutes the practical or the utilitarian. No one will deny that knowing a fact may be useful if one has a need for that particular and specific bit of information. Nor can it be denied that a series of facts are valuable if one has need for a knowledge of a string of apparently connected events. Yet neither a single fact nor a sequence of facts constitutes history—this is what too many teachers and students fail to appreciate.

Indeed, history is not necessarily an awareness of what happened in a certain place at a given moment of time. One may know, for example, that a Proclamation of 1763 stipulated that Englishmen should not migrate to certain lands lately acquired as the result of a war with France and still not possess

any historical knowledge. It is possible to be in possession of complete details concerning the Trojan Horse and still lack historical knowledge. A student may have at his command all the biographical details of Jackson's career and still be completely lacking in an understanding of what Jackson represents as a man, as a symbol, and as a myth.

When history is smothered by the social sciences, the student receives the impression that history, because it is presented to him primarily as a practical tool for the solving of problems, is finite and fixable and a certainty. It is a completed and finished thing and all that is needed is to obey. Such a view brings almost automatically to mind a passage from Exodus: "Thus was all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of the congregation finished: and the children of Israel did according to all that the Lord commanded Moses, so did they."

But history, unlike the tabernacle, is never finished. Each generation sees it through new eyes. New men see it anew and record it with fresh insight. Agatha Christie in the *Moving Finger* allowed a young school girl to run on and on about history until she finally burst out: "Such a lot of things seem to me such rot. History, for instance. Why, it's quite different out of different books!" An older person replies, "That is its real interest."

I am concerned that we may be losing in this nation the leaven of the spirit of the liberal arts; that learning for learning's sake is, in some quarters, no longer considered desirable; that everything we do and think must be directed toward the solution of a practical formula. More and more we seem to try to teach how to make a living, how to adjust to society, and not how to live a good life.

Recently I took part in a panel discussion on the meaning of the liberal arts. I told an audience of college students that I was appearing as both serf and free man, for history demanded that I bind myself to laws of evidence and criticism and at the same time afforded me limitless opportunities to roam freely through all of man's past, to investigate what I

chose, to ponder and to speculate without any shackles and without being bound by any loyalty oath.

History, I pointed out, belongs to the liberal arts because it is not a practical subject. It seeks not so much to impart information as it does to promote knowledge which may, in turn, result in a measure of wisdom. Pure history, like pure science, has no interest whatsoever in accomplishing anything; rather it permits the student to gain a perspective, to be an acute observer of man and his institutions, and to examine our mighty intellectual heritage which those who have gone before have shaped in their hours of persecution, of triumph, of supernaturalism and materialism, of scholasticism and humanism in the eras of monarchy and democracy.

History, whether in the grades or the high school or the college, should open—for the mere sake of curiosity—the story of art and literature, the annals of scientific change, the treasures of religion and philosophy. History exists to widen men's minds, to spread the intellect to the universe of subjective values as well as to the world of objective things. The liberalizing and gently beneficent influence of history brings wide understanding, and with comprehension comes patience and a tolerance that is beyond understanding.

The study of history should enable the student to observe calmly and dispassionately, to weigh judiciously, to maintain poise—to be, in short, a liberally-educated individual. Students should study history primarily because it is impractical, because it does not promise to add a single devaluated dollar to their income, because they burn with desire to know for knowing's sake. The history student is not learning to make a cigarette with a better filter, not removing the caffeine from coffee because the world's a nervous place, not designing a complex calculating machine, not touching-off a rocket whose destination lies in the misty realm of inter-stellar space.

All the liberal arts—each and every one—seek to transform savages into humanists. And history helps. The purpose of history is liberal and pliable. The purpose of the social studies

seems narrow and brittle. In this distinction lies the difference between the educated man and the trained man. Eliseo Vivas, professor of moral and intellectual philosophy at Northwestern University, made the point this way:

> Education is something that happens to a mind when it awakens to the need to assimilate the spiritual and the intellectual heritage of our civilization, when it seeks to come into possession of its literature and arts, its philosophy, its theology, its science of nature and of man, and when it seeks to order its acquisitions in the proper historical perspective. An educated man in this sense is a man who is something the merely trained man is not. The trained man possesses his subject matter, uses it externally, instrumentally; his mind is well stocked with facts, ideas, theories. But neither fact, nor idea, nor theory can be part of a man; neither can they be incorporated into the person, to be constitutive of himself, nor can they be espoused as values can. For this reason the educated man is not necessarily the erudite, the walking encyclopedia. . . . The educated man does not possess theories or facts. He possesses art or literature, theology or philosophy, or science. These and not facts or theories can be an organic component of a personality—the very stuff of one's being.[4]

The true task of the historian, like the fundamental obligation of the liberal arts, is to give to students on every level depth and breadth of insight. This means more than mere training. We need teachers in this country who know how to guide students to ask the hardest questions, "who make us teach, who fight us all the way, who go to the library because they want to and not because we send them, who are at least intellectual trouble-makers, who are exploring even the craziest ideas, who can teach us that we do not know the answers."[5]

Russell Kirk emphasized the same point when he wrote that the college should make it clear that its "ethical end is

[4]Eliseo Vivas, "Four Meanings of 'Education,'" Institute for Christian Learning, *Papers and Studies* (Evanston, Ill., 1958), 6.

[5]Roger W. Holmes, "The Humanities," *Mount Holyoke Newscope*, LII, (Feb. 1959), 5.

sought through an intellectual discipline, exacting in its character, which regards 'useless knowledge' as infinitely more valuable than simple utilitarian skills."[6] Is education in the United States today overemphasizing the acquisition of skills and the solving of problems? Study guides and teachers' manuals list initiatory activities, developmental activities, and culminating activities. With so many skills and activities, when is there time for thought, the very foundation of the educating process?

Some may charge that an emphasis upon thought is only a worthless ambition of eggheads. Others may criticize the hard-boiled egghead as being insensitive and unsympathetic to what schools are attempting to do and what classroom teachers are accomplishing. But, before verdict is passed and sentence imposed, the plea needs to be finished and the argument concluded. To do this, it is necessary to turn Clio's wheel full circle, to return to the world of the Greek historians, to review both the writings and the points of view of Herodotus and Thucydides. To Herodotus, the major aim of the historian was to entertain an audience; hence he could blend truth with fancy and fiction with fabrication. Thucydides, on the other hand, was concerned with keeping a human record which was both truthful and accurate. It was he who gave man the first definition which showed the usefulness of history: "The accurate knowledge of what has happened will be useful, because, according to human probability, similar things will happen again."[7]

So it was that history became practical instruction in statesmanship. It was a useful tool to be used in the art of war. It gave men a body of examples, principles, and precepts. When we talk about history building character or presenting

[6] Russell Kirk, "Conserving the American College," *National Review*, IV (Dec. 14, 1957), 544.

[7] J. B. Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians* (New York, 1958), 243; this view is expressed in more detail in James W. Thompson, *History of Historical Writing* (New York, 1912), I, 30.

man with a code by which to live, we have merely a hang-over from classical times.

History exists neither to be practical nor to be studied for its own sake. There is no contradiction in terms or thought here. In the first place, history, like any other discipline, cannot be divorced from the sum of man's experience and the total knowledge he has gained from those experiences. In the second place, history is disinterested even if we view it as a science, which it is not. And the teacher must be equally disinterested. Perhaps the task of the historian is simply to keep the record and attempt to find out how human events occurred.

Such a view does not deny, obviously, that someone somewhere may use history for his own practical ends and useful purposes. A breakfast food concern may want a history of itself or a railroad may desire a chronicle of its past. Perhaps these institutions desire narratives of their inception and growth as a part of a public relations campaign; perhaps they wish to celebrate a centennial with a book; perhaps they wish to justify or rationalize past policies and actions; perhaps they wish a history only to glorify a founder or a founding family. Who knows why some histories are written? But, whatever the reasons, the objectives are as practical as a ledger sheet.

Yet history never can be approached in the same spirit as the cereal manufacturer may approach it. In the final analysis, history must be studied and written as if, as Bury writes, "it has no bearing on anything beyond itself."[8] This is the most difficult of all lessons to drive home to students.

History has value for man in precisely the identical manner that art and poetry possess eternal truths for man. And if, as in all wisdom, man's reach exceeds his grasp, is this not the true purpose of education? The historian, like Robert Browning, must embody successfully the complex variations of the human spirit, must give values substance, must make thought

[8] Bury, *Ancient Greek Historians*, ch. VIII.

a personal experience. There is pathos and pain and frustration and exultation in learning and in finite hearts that yearn. Truth more frequently is mirrored in symbol than in fact. And students desperately need these dancing symbols to feed upon, for, without them, there is not much left.

Our knowledge is, indeed, a torch of smoky pine that lights the pathway but one step ahead.

Aragon and the War of the Sicilian Vespers

J. Lee Shneidman *

The facts involved in the Aragonese intervention into Sicilian affairs five months after the massacre of the French at Palermo on Easter Monday—the so-called "Sicilian Vespers"—in 1282 are simple.[1] On June 6 of that year an Aragonese-Catalan fleet left the harbor of Portofangos, avowedly, according to King Pedro III to aid the king of Tunis against rebellious tribesmen.[2] The fleet landed at the deserted city of Collo, a small port in what is now Algeria, where the Aragonese monarch prepared to besiege the city of Constantine, some fifty miles inland. While awaiting re-enforcements,[3] Pedro was approached by representatives of the Sicilian revolutionists for help against the forces of Charles of Anjou, King of Naples and Sicily, who was seeking to recover control of the island. Pedro promptly abandoned the Tunisian venture; on

* The author is instructor in history at Fairleigh Dickinson University.

[1] Sicily's history in the early middle ages was complex. Normans began the conquest of the island in 1017. In 1127 Naples and Sicily were merged into a single Norman domain. Normans ruled both areas until the death of William II in 1189 when Henry VI (Hohenstaufen in German, Ghibelline in Italian), Holy Roman Emperor who had married Constanza, aunt and heir of William, laid claim to the throne. The son of Henry and Constanza, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, became king of the "Two Sicilies" in 1212. At his death, he was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, Holy Roman Emperor Conrad IV (1250-1254). A twelve year struggle for the throne of the Two Sicilies followed. After the death of Conrad IV, his half-brother Manfred, illegitimate son of Frederick II, attempted to preserve the kingdoms for Conrad's minor son, known in history as Conradine. In 1258, however, Manfred was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. After his death at Beneventum in 1266, Conradine attempted to make good his claim to the throne; Conradine was captured at Tagliacozza and executed in 1268. Meanwhile the Pope recognized Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis IX of France, as King of Naples and Sicily. The revolt of the Sicilians was aimed at the rule of the Angevins.

[2] F. Valls-Taberner and F. Soldevila, *Historia de Cataluña* (Barcelona, 1955), I, 191; Bernat Desclot, *Chronicle* (Princeton, 1928), 25ff.; Ramon Muntaner

August 30 he landed the major part of his army on the northwestern shore of Sicily at Trapani, from whence he marched swiftly eastward to Palermo where the Sicilian populace and Parliament proclaimed him and his wife Constanza King and Queen of Sicily.[4]

While the facts in themselves are simple, the reasons for the Aragonese intervention in what appears to be a simple war between the Sicilian people and their Angevin rulers are not. Within the past few years two outstanding medievalists have studied the problems involved. Both Professors Steven Runciman and Deno J. Geanakoplos, having examined the materials found in the archives of the Eastern Empire and Angevin Sicily, have analyzed the happenings on that eventful Eastern Monday.[5] Professor Runciman's interest was the tremendous ambition of Charles of Anjou, would-be Eastern Emperor. As a result of his study he concluded that the Sicilians revolted because they could not tolerate the excessive taxation and brutality of the French, necessitated by Charles' constant need for funds to finance his grandiose plan to dominate the Eastern Mediterranean. Professor Geanakoplos, on the other hand, centered his interest on the personality of the Emperor Michael VIII. His study indicated that the revolt was the result of a huge international web spun by the crafty Greek in which the Papacy, Aragon, Genoa, Venice, and other states were manipulated into an alliance against the Angevins: the revolt indicated the brilliance of the Emperor's foreign policy. Unfortunately, neither Professor Runciman nor Professor Geanakoplos took into full account the developments in Aragon;

Chronicle (London, 1920), 75. Wherever possible I have referred to English editions of *Chronicles*.

[3] Pedro, uncertain of his ability to reduce Constantine, sent an emissary to Pope Martin IV to ask for military aid. The Pope refused. Desclot, *Chronicle*, 46-47.

[4] Michael Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro Siciliano* (Milan, 1886), I, 287. Constanza was the daughter of Manfred.

[5] Deno J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaelogus and the West* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 364 n. 101 discusses the pros and cons of March 31 v March 30 as to the date of the revolt; Steven Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge, 1958), 214 speaks of March 29.

neither recognized that only the active intervention of the Aragonese armada assured the success of the revolt.

In order to understand the reasons for Aragonese intervention it is necessary to appreciate the important position of Aragon in the Mediterranean power complex. The story began with Pedro III's father, King Jaime I (1213-1276). Even though he in his private life resembled a character in a spicy picaresque novel, Jaime cannot be dismissed as an "adventurer" or "a swashbuckling old soldier" who was "gallant, boastful and eccentric,"[6] since in the field of foreign affairs he was admirably more successful than his contemporary and neighboring monarchs whom history has dubbed "the Wise" and "the Saint." While Alfonso of Castile was seeking glory by chasing the ephemeral Imperial title and Louis of France was seeking eternal salvation by engaging in useless crusades, Jaime conquered the Moorish kingdoms of Mallorca and Valencia and almost doubled the size of his kingdom. It was Jaime who in 1258 shifted the entire expansionist outlook of the Aragonese state toward the east.

Further, whether or not there was an alliance between Pedro of Aragon and Michael VIII[7] had no influence on the course of Aragonese policy because the Angevin-Aragonese hostility pre-dated the Angevin-Byzantine. What prompted the invasion of Sicily was not the machinations of the Eastern Emperor but those of Jaime. The invasion of 1282 had been heralded in 1266, when Jaime allowed his daughter-in-law, Constanza, daughter of the bastard Hohenstaufen Manfred of Sicily and wife of Jaime's heir Pedro, to proclaim herself Queen of Sicily.[8] Indeed, as early as 1276 Pedro, on a visit to Philip III of France, had demanded that Philip's uncle, Charles of Anjou, surrender the blood-stained Sicilian crown.[9]

[6] Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, 65, 162, 202.

[7] Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaelogus*, 375-377. I am inclined to agree with Professor Geanakoplos that some sort of alliance between Michael and Pedro did exist.

[8] Fernan Soldevila, *Pere El Gran, La Infanta* (Barcelona, 1950-1956), II, 213.

[9] Pedro M. Carbonell, *Cròniques de Espanya* (Barcelona, 1547), 69 left.

All the diplomatic play between Aragon and France over Sicily had had nothing to do with the Eastern Empire. Although Michael may have been Pedro's ally and Byzantine gold may have found its way into the Aragonese coffers, the invasion of Sicily by Pedro of Aragon, son-in-law of Manfred of Sicily, cannot be considered Michael's triumph except in the most vicarious of ways.

The invasion of Sicily was a direct result of events which started on May 11, 1258, at the city of Corbeil, where Jaime of Aragon and St. Louis of France signed a treaty in which the Aragonese monarch surrendered to France all claims to Carcassonne, Foix, Beziers, Nîmes, Albi, Narbonne, Toulouse, and a dozen other towns north of the Pyrenees and in which Louis gave up his ephemeral overlordship of Catalunya (as the heir of Charlemagne's lords of the Spanish March).[10] The importance of this treaty in ushering in a new phase of Aragonese foreign policy has been overlooked. Before 1258 the chief interest of the rulers of Aragon-Barcelona had been the desire to establish a powerful state straddling the mountains. For generations the counts of Barcelona had been the counts of Provence. Jaime's father, Pedro II, had almost accomplished the dream when he married the heiress of Montpellier and brought that pivotal city under control of the Aragonese crown. As a result, Aragon either directly or indirectly became dominant over a vast area south of the Loire and west of the Italian Alps. But the position of Aragon changed as a result of the Albigensian crusade. With the defeat of the count of Toulouse, the death of Pedro II at Muret, and the burning of Beziers, Aragonese power in Languedoc vanished. Jaime, a mere infant and the prisoner of Simon de Montfort, was in no position to change the events. As the Aragonese monarch matured, the influence of Paris upon the southern French prov-

[10] Fernan Soldevila, *Jaume I, Pere el Gran* (Barcelona, 1955), 37; H. J. Chaytor, *History of Aragon and Catalonia* (London, 1933), 87-89 presents a short outline of the events. Fernan Soldevila, *Vida de Jaume I* (Barcelona, 1958), 233-239 has a slightly more extensive account.

inces increased. It was quite evident that if the Aragonese were to regain their hegemony, they would have to engage in active war with France. When the French royal family became heirs of Toulouse and Provence, Jaime realized the futility and the "unprofitableness" of chasing the old dream. Finally, when the Count of Champagne became King of Navarre, Jaime realized that he could not change the tide of Parisian advance. The Treaty of Corbeil ended Catalan hegemony in Languedoc, even though Catalans continued to rule in Foix and Bearn.

In that same eventful year, Manfred, King of Sicily, suggested that his daughter Constanza marry Jaime's heir, Pedro.[11] There was nothing unusual in the offer: Manfred needed an ally against the Angevin-Papal forces and Jaime was an individual of some importance in the European power complex. Besides, a union between the two houses was not new: Frederick II, Manfred's father, had married Jaime's aunt,[12] and there had been friendly relations between the two states ever since. From the stir caused by the announcement of the wedding, however, it would appear that the other monarchs of Europe placed considerable importance on the union.[13] On June 13, 1262, after years of opposition emanating from Rome, Paris, and Provence, and of all sorts of financial difficulties[14] the two heirs were married.[15] Professor Fernan Soldevila has indicated his belief that Jaime planned the marriage so as to extend Aragonese influence to Sicily.[16]

But why Sicily? It would be easy to accept the view that Jaime was just an adventurer; but that cannot be done. The

[11] Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, 54.

[12] Valls-Taberner, *Historia de Cataluña*, I, 152.

[13] Soldevila, *Pere El Gran*, I, 98. On July 6, 1262, Jaime had to reassure St. Louis that there was nothing anti-French in this alliance. [Julien Paz de Espéso, *Documentos relativos a España existentes en los Archivos Nacionales de Paris* (Madrid, 1934), doc. 87.]

[14] Eduart Gonzalez Hurtebis, "Documents inédits del Rey en Jaume I," *Congres d'Historia de la Corona d'Aragó dedicat al Rey en Jaume I* (Barcelona, 1909-1913), II, 1188 ff. docs. 57, 58.

[15] Soldevila, *Jaume I, Pere el Gran*, 39.

[16] Soldevila, *Pere El Gran*, I, 93.

ambition of the monarch was actually symptomatic of the emergence of Aragon—or to be exact, Barcelona—as a great commercial power.

Until the thirteenth century Aragon-Barcelona had been one of the more insignificant states of Europe, smaller in Iberia than either Castile or Portugal. Aragonese trade of international importance had probably been in the hands of the Genoese[17] and Arabs. As late as July 1, 1230, Jaime recognized the extensive commercial and political privileges enjoyed by the Genoese,[18] including the rights to one-fifth of the city of Tortosa,[19] gained by these northern Italians during the reconquest. But with the Aragonese conquest of Mallorca and Valencia the balance shifted. By the mid-thirteenth century Catalan merchants were in active competition with the Genoese, and Aragon-Barcelona became the second commercial power in the Western Mediterranean. Under Jaime and Pedro III Aragon took major steps to place most of western Mediterranean trade in ships manned by Catalan sailors. But it was not only in the west that the Catalan merchants sought markets.[20] As early as 1250 Jaime sent two merchants to Egypt[21] in order to examine trade possibilities. Thirteen years later the Aragonese established a consulate in Alexandria.[22] By 1264 Catalans were a major element in the foreign population of Tunis.[23] By 1268 the Catalans cracked the virtual Italian monopoly of trade with Constantinople.[24] Professor Geanakoplos

[17] Ruth Gertrude Reinert, Genoese Trade with Provence, Languedoc, Spain and The Balearics in the Twelfth Century (Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1938), 89ff.

[18] "Chartum," *Historia Patriae Monumenta*, VI, 1363ff.

[19] Benvenido Oliver y Esteller, *Historia del Derecho en Cataluña Mallorca y Valencia* (Madrid, 1876-1879), I, 66.

[20] J. Lee Shneidman, "The State and Trade in Thirteenth Century Aragon," *Hispania*, XIX (1959), 368-372.

[21] Antonio de Capmany y de Montpalau, *Memorias Historicas sobre la Marina, Commercio y Artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona* (Madrid, 1772-1792), I, section ii, 47.

[22] Soldevila, *Jaume I, Pere El Gran*, 72.

[23] Register of the Crown of Aragon (hereafter referred to as Register . . . Aragon) XIII, f. 207 left.

[24] Capmany, *Memorias Historicas*, I, section ii, 70.

has mentioned Michael's use of a "huge" Catalan merchant ship in 1275 in defeating some rambunctious Genoese.[25]

But the Catalans did not stop at the eastern shore of the sea. In 1261 contacts were made with Armenia[26] and in 1267 or 1268 with the Tatar Khan.[27] These official contacts did not include the ever expanding illicit trade and piracy waged by various Catalan merchants throughout the thirteenth century.[28] By 1265 Aragon-Barcelona had replaced Genoa as the protector of European merchants in North African ports.[29] Using Valencia or Palma as a base of operations, the Catalan fleet could maintain peace and order in Collo, Bougie, Ceuta, or any of the other ports along the coast. However, there was no base from which to protect the Catalans sailing in the eastern Mediterranean.

A further indication of the rising power of Aragon's merchants may be found in the size and power of the fleets, for ships were built for the double purpose of trade and war. Before the thirteenth century Aragon had depended upon either Genoa or Pisa for aid in controlling the sea. Without the aid of the Italian city states Aragon had been open to Moorish invasion. Italian aid had been needed to help in the reconquest of the great Ebro port of Tortosa. By the mid-thirteenth century Aragon was capable of controlling the neighboring seas without this aid. In fact, in 1273 Jaime was able to lend twenty warships to the King of Fez for the latter's campaign against the city of Ceuta.[30] Eight years later Pedro used his fleet in order to remove the pro-Angevin King of Tunis, established by Charles of Anjou during the ill-fated last crusade of

[25] Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaelogus*, 251.

[26] Soldevila, *Pere El Gran*, I, 123.

[27] Jerónimo de Zurita y Castro, *Anales de Corona de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1610-1670), I, 194a-c; James I, King of Aragon, *Chronicle of King James I* (London, 1833), II, 579, 594, 596.

[28] Hurtebis, "Documents inédits del Rey en Jaume I," doc. 64.

[29] Leon Galindo y de Vara, "Vicisitudes y Política tradicional de España respecto de sus posessiones en las costas de Africa," *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XI, 45.

[30] Capmany, *Memorias Historicas*, I, section i, 128.

St. Louis.[31] When Pedro left Portofangos in 1282, he had no fewer than forty-four warships and ninety-six transports,[32] which may have carried as many as twenty-two thousand men.[33] During the twenty years of war which followed the "Vespers," the Aragonese fleet defeated the Angevins at Malta, Brindisi, the Bay of Rosas, Messina, Sorrento, and Naples. In many of the engagements the Angevins were aided by French, Roman, Pisan, and Genoese flotillas.[34]

The marriage of Constanza and Pedro planned by Jaime and the final invasion of Sicily planned by Pedro were both part of the same basic policy: an attempt to secure a base of operations for further expansion. Sicily and its appendage Malta would give the Aragonese control of the central Mediterranean and allow for further expansion toward the east. No matter what else transpired in the area, the aim of Aragonese policy was the annexation of Sicily.

That expansion to the east was foremost in Jaime's mind is made clear by the fact that in 1269, when Jaime prepared his ill-fated crusade to the Holy Land—in alliance with the Tatar Khan—both he and his heir hoped to use the expedition as an excuse to examine conditions in Sicily. Unfortunately the winds prevented the king and his son from getting further than Mallorca.[35]

That Pedro III had every intention of becoming king of Sicily as soon as possible was evident after the defeat of Conradine at Tagliacozzo in 1268, when he made sure that his

[31] *Ibid.*, 129; Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, 144.

[32] Capmany, *loc. cit.*

[33] Louis Almeric, *Barcelona y El Mar* (Barcelona, 1945), 33.

[34] Capmany, *Memorias Historicas*, I, section i, 130.

[35] Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaelogus*, 220. One ship of the expedition, under the command of Jaime's natural son Fernan Sanchez, managed to reach Crete before it was ordered to return. On the voyage back Sanchez stopped off in Sicily to pay his respects to the titular Eastern Emperor Baldwin who was staying with Charles of Anjou; at the time Sanchez publicly recognized Charles as King of Sicily and accepted presents from him. Pedro never forgave the act and swore to kill his half-brother. Jaime, however, protected his natural son until 1273 when Sanchez led a revolt; then he allowed Pedro to murder Sanchez. [Soldevila, *Pere El Gran*, III, 315-317; James I, *Chronicle*, II, 625-626, 662.]

wife Constanza was recognized by the Italian Ghibellines as the true heir to the Hohenstaufen lands, even though male Hohenstaufens still lived. Pedro even had his own feudal nobility recognize his rights to Sicily. On January 27, 1269, just four months after the execution of Conradine, Pedro summoned three of his most influential lords to his court in Lerida. There, Counts Roger Bernat III of Foix and Arnau Roger of Pallars and the Viscount Ramon Folc de Cardona swore to defend the hereditary possessions of Constanza.[36] The nobles also promised not to cause a civil war should Pedro be forced to engage in an international war to secure the Sicilian crown.[37] At the same time Pedro warned Philip III of France that, even though the Treaty of Corbeil recognized the predominant position of Paris in the lands north of the Pyrenees, any attempt to occupy Foix would result in an international war.[38]

With the death of Conradine in 1268, the eldest surviving male Hohenstaufen was Frederick II's son Enzio, the so-called King of Sardinia, who had been imprisoned in Bologna in 1250.[39] Frederick of Antioch, like Enzio a natural son of the Hohenstaufens, was also in prison. Frederick's son Conrad, while in a position to aid Pedro during the invasion of Sicily,[40] was incapable of leading a revolt against the Angevins. Of Frederick II's four daughters none had married rulers with the necessary power to overthrow Charles. Only Manfred's daughter Constanza had such a connection; it was because of this that the Hohenstaufen supporters rallied around her and her husband, Pedro.

[36] Soldevila, *Pere El Gran*, II, 229.

[37] *Ibid.*, III, 295. In order to secure the support of Roger Bernat, Jaime, who at all times supported Pedro's claim to Sicily, granted him lands that belonged to the heretical Arnau de Castellbo. [*Ibid.*, III, 297.]

[38] By attempting to protect the powerful Count of Foix from France, Pedro hoped to secure his aid. Unfortunately for Pedro, Philip was able to secure the support of Foix when the French monarch granted the Count of Foix lands in Andorra. [*Ibid.*, III, 313.]

[39] Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, 26.

[40] *Ibid.*, 251.

Soon after the debacle of Tagliacozza in 1268 Italians began migrating to Barcelona.[41] The most famous of the exiles was John of Procida, physician to both Frederick II and Manfred.[42] Although Professor Helen Wieruszowski[43] has forever ended the old story of John's peregrinations, it was not her intention to lessen his importance. John became the kingpin in the Aragonese-Hohenstaufen alliance as the right hand man of both Pedro and Constanza. His importance was indicated by the honors showered upon him by the Aragonese couple. On June 26, 1275, he was granted the towns of Alis and Pomar.[44] When this grant was made, Jaime was still alive and, therefore, must have supported the bequest. On October 27, 1276, John was granted an annual pension of five hundred *morabatinos;*[45] in February of the following year he was given the town of Luchente and the castle at Palma;[46] two months later, the revenues of the town of Benisano.[47] In December 1278 John was granted tracts of land in Benisano.[48] When Pedro and Constanza finally became the rulers of Sicily, in fact as well as in name, John became their chancellor.[49]

[41] Soldevila, *Pere El Gran,* II, 231.

[42] George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science* (Baltimore, 1931-1947), II, 1076-1077.

[43] Helene Wieruszowski, "Der Anteil Johanns von Procida an der Verschwörung gegen Karl von Anjou," *Spanische Forschungen* (Munster, 1934-1935), 230-239. Professor Wieruszowski's "Politische Verschwörungen und Bündnisse König Peters von Aragon Gegen Karl von Anjou am Vorabend der Sizilianischen Vesper," *Quellen und Forschungen,* XXVII (1957), 136-191, which is an extension of "Conjuraciones y alianzas politicas del rey Pedro de Aragon contra Carlos de Anjou antes de las Visperas Sicilianas," *Boletin de la Academia de la Historia,* CVII (1935), 547-602, has carefully examined Pedro's actions prior to the invasion, while her article "La Corte di Pietro d'Aragona e i precedenti dell'impresa siciliana," *Estratto dall'Archivo Storico Italiano,* I (1938), 141-162; II (1938), 200-217, examines the doings at the Aragonese court during this period.

[44] Register . . . Aragon, XXVII, f. 93 left.

[45] J. Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Catálogo de la documentacion relative al antiguo reino de Valencia* (Madrid, 1934), II, doc. 128.

[46] Register . . . Aragon, XL, f. 66 left, 68 left, 70 left, 186.

[47] *Ibid.,* f. 93.

[48] Register . . . Aragon, XXXXIV, f. 165 left.

[49] Giuseppe La Mantia, *Codice Diplomatica dei Re Aragonesi de Sicilia* (Palermo, 1917), doc. 40.

Unfortunately there is no record of Pedro's ever having announced his actual intention to invade Sicily prior to his letter of August 19, 1282, to his friend Edward I of England.[50] All the historian can do is present a probable date as the beginning of actual preparations. It is known, for instance, that Pedro was in the midst of constructing a fleet at Valencia by July 22, 1281—at least eleven months before the fleet set sail and nine months before the Sicilian revolution.[51] It is obvious that to build a fleet of one hundred and fifty ships would take time. But how much before July 1281 was that fleet a-building?

To discover when Pedro began to plan the invasion it is necessary to examine events which, on the surface, appear to have nothing to do with the Sicilian invasion.

Since the mid-thirteenth century Aragonese relations with Genoa had gone from bad to worse. Along the North African coast Catalans supplanted Genoese merchants; in Castile the Catalans acquired equal rights with the Genoese. The pirates of both states attacked each other's ships. There was even the prospect of Catalans sailing to London and Flanders. Genoese merchants in Catalunya frequently found their goods seized for no reason; and visa versa. All this came to an end on August 12, 1280, when Pedro ordered the restitution of all impounded Genoese goods.[52] Although this event may have had nothing to do with Pedro's plan, it is possible that Pedro agreed to a cessation of hostilities with Genoa as a result of the secret negotiations carried on between Aragonese representatives and the Genoese Benedetto Zaccaria, who was the friend and ally of Michael VIII.[53] It is clear that during negotiations Pedro promised the Genoese that once he had established himself on the Sicilian throne, he would grant them all the rights and privileges they had enjoyed under Manfred.[54]

[50] *Ibid.*, doc. 15.
[51] Register . . . Aragon, XXXXVI, f. 56.
[52] Register . . . Aragon, XXXXVIII, f. 110.
[53] Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaelogus*, 355 ff.
[54] La Mantia, *Codice Diplomatica*, docs. 60, 64.

While the events may be coincidental, what other reason would Pedro have had for granting his chief rival commercial privileges? Since Genoa was Michael's ally and Michael was interested in the undoing of Charles of Anjou, perhaps Pedro was willing to forget briefly the rivalry in order to secure the possible assistance of the Eastern Emperor in the projected invasion. Whether or not this cooperation among Aragon, Genoa, and Byzantium was at the behest of Michael has very little bearing on Pedro's actions.

There was also a strange turnabout in Aragonese relations with Castile. In 1275 the heir to the Castilian throne, Ferdinand, died. When Alfonso X announced that his second son, Sancho, would become his heir, Ferdinand's sons, Ferdinand and Alfonso, fled to Aragon. Both Jaime and Pedro welcomed the two princes and used them as pawns in their relations with Castile. Should the Castilians displease the Aragonese, Jaime and Pedro threatened to set the two princes free in Castile to foment a revolution. But the threats came to an end on March 27, 1281, when Pedro signed a mutual assistance pact with Alfonso X and recognized Sancho as heir.[55] Why Pedro should abandon his blackmail of Alfonso is not clear unless Pedro desired security on his western frontier while all his forces would be engaged in a difficult struggle.

That the various European courts realized that Pedro was planning something other than a mere punitive expedition to Tunis is evinced by the letter of Philip III, which reached Pedro on May 20, 1282, and in which the French monarch demanded to know why Pedro needed so large a fleet if all he were planning was a trip to Tunis.[56] It is quite obvious from the attitude of both Paris and Rome that the French King and the Pope considered the invasion of Tunis as a blind. The force which Pedro commanded was too large for its purpose.

Pedro's actions in domestic affairs also seemed to indicate

[55] *Memorial Historico Español: Coléccion de documentos, opusculos y antiguedades* (Madrid, 1851), II, 33-41.

[56] Register . . . Aragon, XXXXVII, f. 118.

that the Tunisian problem was not the reason for the sailing. On July 20, 1282, six weeks before the landing at Trapani, Pedro ordered the cities of Aragon to begin preparation for a four-month campaign.[57] This would mean that the cities would be on a war-time footing during the season of warfare. It is impossible to believe that Pedro ordered the cities to prepare for war because he expected a Tunisian fleet to invade Aragon. The speed with which the cities and the military orders organized for war would indicate that there was considerable advance preparation.[58] Indeed, having concentrated the full administration of the entire kingdom in the hands of Jucef and Muza Ravaya,[59] Pedro by 1282 was able to leave it for a considerable period of time without fear of internal chaos.

The relationship between commercial interests and the Sicilian invasion was, in part, demonstrated by the failure of the landed nobility to support the crown. In fact, when the French invaded Catalunya, the Aragonese nobility did not obey the normal feudal obligation of defending their king; many of the Catalan nobles joined Pedro's brother Jaime II, King of Mallorca—Count of Roussillon, in aiding the invaders.[60] Because Pedro realized that the nobility was not interested in an invasion of Sicily (it would have preferred a war with Castile over Murcia), he had not told his nobles his plans. Until the fleet left Portofangos, no one save the king knew which way to sail.[61] When the French in support of Charles of Anjou invaded Catalunya, the defending force consisted of a motley army of city workers, some loyal nobles, and the military orders. This land force was no match for Philip's army; not even the heroic actions of the Viscount Cardona could save the city of Gerona from falling into French hands. While

[57] Register . . . Aragon, LIX, f. 35-35 left.
[58] Register . . . Aragon, LXI, f. 108.
[59] J. Lee Shneidman, "Jews in the Royal Administration of Thirteenth Century Aragon," *Historia Judaica*, XXI (1959), 44-45.
[60] Muntaner, *Chronicle*, I, 332.
[61] Desclot, *Chronicle*, 46.

the army was inferior to the French, the Catalan fleet was something else again. The merchants and the pirates united[62] and produced an all powerful fleet that destroyed one Franco-Angevin navy in the harbor of Naples and another in the Bay of Rosas at the foot of the Pyrenees.[63] This last victory forced the French to retreat. Then the Catalan flotillas took the war to France and Naples; Aix, Marseilles, Capri, Malta, the Ionian Islands, and the Morea were either burned or captured. Though the nobles refused to fight, the merchant class supplied the king with the tools of war—an action which was only natural since the king had started the war for their benefit.

The invasion of Sicily was a triumph for the policy started by Jaime I. The eastward expansion of Aragon was the dominant policy in Aragonese affairs until Aragon was united with Castile and all eyes turned west. Jaime was not an adventurer but a far-sighted statesman who saw where Aragon's greatness lay. Pedro was not a pawn in Michael's intricate chess game but the guiding spirit in the destruction of the Angevins.

There can be little doubt that Jaime planned to use the marriage alliance between Pedro and Constanza as a wedge with which to open up Sicily and the Eastern Mediterranean to Catalan trade. Nor can there be any doubt that Pedro thought of exercising his claim to the Sicilian crown after the execution of Conradine. Further, all evidence would indicate that Pedro began to plan the invasion of Sicily no later than the beginning of 1281.

[62] *Ibid.*, 308.
[63] Almeric, *Barcelona y El Mar*, 33.

Poor Relief and Public Works During the Depression of 1857

BENJAMIN J. KLEBANER *

THE pressure of unemployment upon American wage earners was more keenly felt during the depression which began in the fall of 1857 and continued through much of 1858 than ever before in the antebellum era.[1] President Buchanan did not exaggerate when he referred in his State of the Union message of December 8, 1857, to the "thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want."[2]

To the poor of industrial communities, the winter of 1857-1858, despite the mildness of the weather, was in the words of the selectmen of Chicopee, Massachusetts, a time of "particular hardship." New York City "presented a more appalling picture of social wretchedness than was probably ever before witnessed on this side of the Atlantic."[3] Industrious, respectable people, well able to provide for their own families in normal times but now unable to do so through no fault of their own, were applying for relief. It was, in fact, generally conceded that the "virtuous" rather than the "vicious" poor were

* The author is assistant professor of economics at the College of the City of New York.

[1] For background see Samuel Rezneck, "The Influence of Depression upon American Opinion 1857-1859," *Journal of Economic History*, II (1942), 1-23; Arthur H. Cole, "Statistical Background of the Crisis of 1857," *Review of Economic Statistics*, XII (1930), 170-180; Leah Hannah Feder, *Unemployment Relief in Periods of Depression* (New York, 1936), ch. II.

[2] *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong. 1 Sess. (1858), Appendix, 1.

[3] Chicopee, *Annual Reports . . . 1859* (Springfield, Mass., 1859), 7-8; New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (A.I.C.P.), *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 22.

claiming assistance.[4] The number receiving public assistance—both poorhouse care and outdoor relief—set a record in many communities.[5]

While the North was very hard hit, most but not all of the South—being agricultural—was scarcely touched by the depression. Baltimore's mayor considered the city fortunate in having passed through the crisis "without material departure from our accustomed routine." Richmond, however, reported "very many unemployed." Its almshouse had an average of over 200 inmates during the winter of 1857-1858 (twenty-five per cent more than in the succeeding three winters) and an unusually large number of those admitted were in "good health." The seventy-four inmates in Charleston's almshouse in February 1858 represented a forty per cent increase over the preceding year, while the 307 outdoor rations were forty-three more than a year earlier.[6]

Some of the unemployed moved about in search of work or aid, the needy among them assisted by public and private funds. Providence gave 260 people money to enable them to leave the city in the last half of 1857. Putnam, Connecticut, sent some fifty French-Canadians home at town expense as a more economical procedure than supporting them during the

[4] Albany, *Report of the Committee of Supervisors on Almshouse Affairs* (Albany, 1859), 62; Oswego Common Council, *Journal . . . 1858-59* (Oswego, N. Y., 1859), 97; New Bedford, *City Documents 1858*, No. 5, p. 1; Portsmouth, *Receipts and Expenditures . . . for the Financial Year ending March 23, 1858* (Portsmouth, N. H., 1858), 49; Hallowell, *Mayor's Address and Annual Reports . . . March, 1858* (Hallowell, Me., 1858), 4. On the other hand, the Providence *Daily Journal*, Nov. 17, 1857, felt that many of the "unemployed" were simply persons who refused to work at justifiably reduced wages. The Boston *Ledger* stated peremptorily: "Never say 'out of employment!' because no reasonable excuse can be offered therefore." [Waltham *Sentinel*, Feb. 12, 1858.]

[5] On outdoor relief see the 1858 reports of the follow Massachusetts towns: Adams, Dorchester, Lynn, Stoughton, Norton, Lee. On the increase of almshouse population see Portsmouth, *Receipts and Expenditures . . . March 23, 1858*, 88.

[6] On southern conditions see Chester W. Wright, *Economic History of the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1949), 388; Baltimore, *Ordinances 1858*, Appendix, 3-4; Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, Dec. 17, 1857; Richmond Almshouse Register, 1857-66 (MS., City Home); Charleston Commissioners of the Poorhouse, Minutes (MS., South Carolina Historical Society).

winter when a cotton mill closed down early in the fall of 1857. At the Worcester almshouse as many as 336 transient needy persons looking for employment received meals and lodgings for a night.[7]

Charleston became unhappy over the influx of unemployed—willing to work for their board—who had been induced to come by press descriptions of favorable conditions in the South. Such persons were urged to remain at home where their friends could take care of them since local charities were being "taxed to the utmost capacity of relief." To the mechanics coming to New York City from all parts of the country, the New York *Tribune* gave similar advice early in the fall of 1857. At the same time Greeley told unemployed New Yorkers to "flee inland forthwith" where work was to be had on farms. Similar counsel was offered by papers elsewhere. The New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor (A.I.C.P.) meanwhile circularized the country on behalf of many unemployed New Yorkers willing to go anywhere that they could earn their keep.[8]

Although such examples would seem to indicate a migration of considerable extent, the numerous applicants to the various almshouses testify to the absence of large-scale migration in search of economic opportunity. An indication of the scope of the institutional influx is that in the fiscal year 1857-1858 Newport admitted seventy persons, twice the average of the preceding two years. New York City's workhouse, to which many of the unemployed voluntarily committed themselves, had 1,251 inmates at the end of 1857, compared with 709 the year before. A record 3,100 inmates crowded Philadelphia's

[7] Providence *Daily Tribune*, Dec. 23, 1857. For Putnam see Boston *Daily Journal*, Oct. 22, 1857, reprinted in Massachusetts Board to Investigate the Subject of the Unemployed, *Report* (Boston, 1895), Pt. IV, Appendix A, 7; Worcester, *City Document Number 13*, 120.

[8] Richmond *Semi-weekly Examiner*, Nov. 10, 1857; Charleston *Daily Courier*, Nov. 18, 1857; New York *Daily Tribune*, Oct. 1, Nov. 10, 1857; Providence *Daily Journal*, Nov. 17, 1857. See also Carl N. Degler, "The West as a Solution to Urban Unemployment," *New York History*, XXXVI (1955), 73-76.

Blockley in February 1858; the pressure was reduced at the end of April by discharging all the able-bodied.[9]

The records of home relief in several localities for which data covering a series of years is available reveal how drastically the depression increased pauperism. During the winter of 1857-1858, almost 33,000 out of the 250,000 residents of Kings County, New York, received fuel and groceries valued at $28,000, an amount of temporary relief far in excess of any previous year. In Albany, a city of sixty thousand, 5,300 (1,300 families) received coal and 2,400 persons (650 families), other forms of relief. Even Kent County, Delaware, where outdoor expenditures were seldom as much as $100 annually, had spent $289 in the year ending March 1858. Particularly affected were the southern New England textile towns. Almost 3,000 people, one-fifth of Fall River's inhabitants, received just under $20,000 in home relief during the winter. One-sixth of Providence's population registered for assistance. Adjacent North Providence gave outdoor aid to 1,500 of its 10,000 residents, and neighboring Cumberland spent almost $5,400 on the poor, twice the amount of the previous year. These relatively large sums were distributed despite widespread misgivings about the invitation home relief offered to imposition and dependence. Sometimes outdoor aid was given only because the almshouse was overcrowded.[10]

The means of administering public outdoor relief, in fact, became a source of considerable controversy between sup-

[9] Newport, *City Documents 1858*, 103; New York City Board of Governors of the Almshouse, *Fourth Annual Report* (New York, 1858), xiv; Philadelphia Guardians of the Poor, XXX, April 28, 1858 (MS., Old Blockley Historical Museum, Philadelphia General Hospital). On August 30, 1858, it was reported that "a large number of able-bodied men" were still inmates.

[10] Lynn, *Inaugural Address of Hon. Edward S. Davies . . . January 3, 1859* (Lynn, Mass., 1859), 13; Schenectady Common Council, *Journal 1858/59* (Schenectady, 1859), 88; Kings County Superintendents of the Poor, *Annual Report . . . 1858* (Brooklyn, 1858), 15; Albany Common Council, Minutes 1858-59, pp. 137-138 (MS., New York State Library); Kent County Trustees of the Poor, Proceedings, *passim* (MS., Public Archives Commission, Dover, Delaware); *Address of Mayor of the City of Fall River . . . April, 1858* (Fall River, 1858), 11; Providence, *City Documents 1858-59*, No. 5, p. 11; North Providence Overseers, Box 16 (MS., City Hall); Cumberland, *Reports . . .* (Providence, 1858), 13.

porters of tax-supported, compulsory charity and the advocates of private, voluntary almsgiving. In evaluating the problem, New Bedford's overseers of the poor thought that it might be more advisable to leave outdoor relief to private individuals who would be better acquainted with the recipients. Outdoor aid, in the unanimous view of a committee of Providence's council, was best handled by private charitable organizations.[11] Newport's mayor became convinced on the basis of his experience that municipal relief led paupers to believe that the city treasury was "an exhaustless mint."[12] The New Haven *Journal and Courier* suggested that people with delicate feelings would be less reluctant to request assistance from private societies where they would not be confused with "the common pauper" and that private organizations could examine claims more carefully than the city. Any poor law relief to the healthy, reasoned the Newark *Daily Advertiser,* would only encourage pauperism; the sick alone were the legitimate sphere of public charity. Though conceding that public charity was easier to administer, the New York *Times* was nevertheless convinced that this advantage was more than counterbalanced by its tendency "to breed indifference in the hearts of those who support, and imbecility in the characters of those who profit by the machinery of benevolence."[13]

Where the authorities concluded that private action was preferable, public money was sometimes granted for distribution by private organizations. The city council of Springfield, Massachusetts, voted $1,000 (of which $723 was actually distributed) to an agent chosen by the Union Relief Association. Brooklyn remitted the property taxes on several buildings used by the local A.I.C.P. for sheltering the poor and supplied fuel for the building throughout the winter. Berks County, Pennsylvania, gave the Reading Relief Fund $150 for the dis-

[11] New Bedford, *City Documents 1858,* No. 5, p. 2; Providence, *City Documents 1858/59,* No. 5, p. 17.

[12] Newport, *City Documents 1858,* 179-180.

[13] New Haven *Morning Journal and Courier,* Oct. 28, 1857; Newark *Daily Advertiser,* Nov. 9, 18, 1857; New York *Times,* Nov. 11, 1857.

tribution of coal among the needy of the city. Richmond, Virginia, which had earlier abandoned outdoor relief, appropriated $1,000 for the Humane Benevolent Society in January 1858.[14]

Organized charities in many cities like Boston, New York, and Baltimore, however, distributed record amounts of assistance without any grants from the public treasury.[15] Nongovernmental aid to the needy played a vital role then as always.[16] Thus, the mayor of Augusta, Maine, reported that "the hand of private charity and the praiseworthy efforts of organized benevolent associations, have done much to relieve the necessities of the unfortunate, and anticipated the application of public funds for their relief." In the fall of 1857 Philadelphia's mayor urged that the city would be acting in accord with the desires of the public "if it uses its legitimate power to assist in the objects which voluntary efforts are striving to accomplish." Just under half of the total amount of assistance received by Brooklyn's poor during the winter of the depression came from the county, and the rest came from private agencies.[17]

Not everyone, however, was convinced of the absolute superiority of private relief organizations. Boston's mayor listed the sources of home relief as the churches, charitable organizations, and overseers of the poor, in that order; though private giving might "limit the necessity for a large expenditure for this purpose by the City, it does not relieve the City

[14] Springfield, *Municipal Register 1858*, 22-23; Brooklyn Board of Aldermen, *Journal 1857*, III, 670-671; Berks County Directors of the Poor, Minutes, Jan. 18, 1858 (MS., County Court House, Reading); Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, Jan. 13, 1858.

[15] Boston Provident Association, *Seventh Annual Report* (Boston, 1858), 7; New York A.I.C.P., *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 72; Baltimore A.I.C.P., *Ninth Annual Report, passim.*

[16] Portland, *Annual Reports 1857-58*, 7-8; Philadelphia Common Council, Journal *1858/59*, 581; Concord Board of Aldermen, Journal, II, 8 (MS., Concord, N. H., City Hall).

[17] Augusta Board of Aldermen, Journal, II, 427 (MS., Augusta, Me., City Hall); Philadelphia Select Council, *Journal 1857*, 233; Brooklyn A.I.C.P., *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 7 (MS., Long Island Historical Society). Total charities of $34,000 do not include individual acts of benevolence or church charities.

from the obligation to meet whatever necessity exists."[18] Public opinion, the Baltimore *Sun* felt, would approve of the action of municipal authorities in helping those not reached by "the slender resources of private aid." In New Jersey many property owners told the newly formed Newark Association for the Relief of the Poor that they preferred a tax as the means of placing the burden where it belonged. The Jersey City *Daily Telegraph* used the same reasoning. One of its editorials criticized as cumbersome and expensive the method of appointing committees to solicit contributions which had been adopted by a public meeting called by the mayor at the request of the common council after the usual appropriation for the poor had run out. Lowell's mayor suggested that taxation was the most equitable way of sharing the burden of poor relief since absentee factory owners paid half the taxes and the needy were their discharged operatives.[19] The Waltham (Massachusetts) *Sentinel* strongly favored public relief on the ground that it was the duty of property to heed the claims of the poor, whose sense of self-respect would be "better supported, by availing themselves of this [public] provision as their right, rather than depending upon a pittance from individuals, as a gratuity." Needy persons, agreed the editor of the Trenton *State Gazette,* should not feel abashed to receive relief. They had earned a right to it by the payment of taxes in the past and in prosperity they would repay it "in great measure."[20]

The same editor, however, considered it beyond the power

[18] Boston, *City Documents 1857,* No. 76, p. 7. Newport spent for board and burial of various paupers $783 from tax funds. An additional $978 was distributed in small amounts as home relief. Of this, $265 came from trust funds, $507 represented donations from charitable persons and $206, an appropriation from city funds when private sources ran out. [Newport, *City Documents 1858,* No. 10, p. 44; *ibid.,* No. 36.]

[19] The Baltimore *Sun,* Nov. 13, 1857; Newark *Daily Advertiser,* Jan. 6, 1858; Jersey City *Daily Telegraph,* Feb. 17, 22, 1858; *Address of Elisha Huntington, Mayor of the City of Lowell before the City Government . . . Jan. 4, 1858* (Lowell, Mass., 1858), 12.

[20] Waltham *Sentinel,* Mar. 12, 1858; Trenton *Daily State Gazette and Republican,* Nov. 10, 1857; cf. New York *Journal of Commerce,* Nov. 13, 1857; Newark *Daily Journal,* Nov. 10, 11, 1857.

or aim of national, state, or local government to give work to all the unemployed. Let the city engage in projects which were needed, "but to make work for the sake of works is . . . charity just as much as it would be in the guise of alms," and a waste, besides. But there were other views. Some suggested that it was "better to pay large sums for useful or even ornamental works, than to have to dole them out in eleemosynary aid."[21] Other editors pointed out that it was the right time to prosecute public works scheduled for a later date, as the alternative was relieving needy laborers without any return from them. Besides, the self-respecting unemployed wanted only the chance to work, not charity.[22] Arguing against the retrenchment of needed public works by any level of government, one Philadelphia newspaper declared:

> Although it is wholly opposed to the spirit of our institutions for government . . . to find employment for the population, as a primary and especial object . . . yet it is their right and duty to carry on the objects that come within the sphere with such activity as they may deem proper. And in determining when the work shall be done they may and ought to look to the general condition of the country: when people need work then they should endeavor to afford it most abundantly.[23]

The idea and practice of employing the needy on public works in periods of depression had originated long before 1857. What distinguished this from previous periods of severe

[21] Trenton *Gazette*, Nov. 11, 1857, quoted from an unspecified source in *'37 and '57; A Brief Popular Account of all the Financial Panics and Commercial Revulsions in the United States . . .* (New York, 1857), 54; cf. Providence *Daily Journal*, Oct. 31, 1857; Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Nov. 9, 1857.

[22] New York *Times*, Oct. 23, 1857; Hiram Fuller, *Belle Brittan on a Tour, at Newport and Here and There* (New York, 1858), 236; Lowell *Daily Journal and Courier*, Nov. 11, 1857; Worcester *Daily Spy*, Nov. 2, 1857; Philadelphia *Press*, Oct. 23, 1857.

[23] Philadelphia *North American and United States Gazette*, Oct. 26, 1857; similarly Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, Oct. 28, 1857. State activity in internal improvements, which "would prove a godsend to those who are willing to work but can find none to do" was urged by the Richmond *Daily Dispatch*, March 21, 1858.

unemployment, however, was the much greater extent to which the device was used.[24]

New York's Mayor Wood urged a public works program to meet the emergency in the fall of 1857. Laborers employed on the projects would receive flour, cornmeal, and potatoes at cost. He warned that assaults on private property might occur in the event that this program of giving the worker the means of providing bread for his family were not adopted.[25] Indeed, many demonstrations were staged by the unemployed in November 1857.[26] The city council followed his advice to the extent of authorizing the expenditure of $50,000 for macadamizing Second Avenue and other streets as a wiser use of public money than the gratuitous distribution of relief, the more so because "this public charity" was going to persons very willing to labor when given the chance. Litigation prevented the execution of any part of this street project in 1858.[27]

Earlier, because of the "exigencies of the money market," the Commissioners of Central Park had discharged almost 700 laborers. Within a month, however, they voted unanimously to hire "a suitable force for advantageous work" as soon as the city would supply the necessary funds, in view of the desirability of the early completion of the park and the condition of the laboring classes in the city. By mid-November New York

[24] On work relief before 1857 see the author's "Public Poor Relief in America, 1790-1860," ch. III (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Publication #3086); cf. Carlos C. Closson, "Notes on the History of 'Unemployment' and Relief Measures in the United States," *Journal of Political Economy*, III (1895), 468.

[25] New York City Board of Councilmen, *Proceedings*, LXVIII, 909-911. The *obiter dicta* in the message and the proposal to distribute grain at cost were attacked in many quarters. [Washington *Daily National Intelligencer*, Nov. 4, 1857; New York *Times*, Oct. 23, 1857.] A letter supporting Wood is in the New York *Journal of Commerce*, Oct. 24, 1857.

[26] New York *Times*, Nov. 1857, *passim*. One of the numerous petitions for work is referred to in New York City Board of Aldermen, *Proceedings*, LXVIII, 232.

[27] *Ibid.*, 274, 296-297; New York *Times*, Nov. 13, 1857; New York City Comptroller, *Annual Report 1858* (New York, 1859), 40; New York A.I.C.P., *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 31.

had agreed to borrow $250,000; a thousand men were then hired for work on the park and another 120 for the nursery. Although the unemployed importuned for the hiring of still more laborers, their request was not granted on the ground that it would not be possible to employ any more hands "economically . . . with advantage." In the eleven months ending April 1, 1858, the Park Commissioners paid out altogether $132,000.[28]

Philadelphia acted more slowly. At first the City Council passed a resolution—over the veto of Mayor Vaux who felt it unwise to curtail necessary public works at a time of mass unemployment—which proposed curtailment of expenditures in every city department whenever possible.[29] But when the unemployed made themselves heard by demonstrations and petitions,[30] the Council adopted the principle of going ahead with those public works needed immediately or "in a short time" for which money could be provided "without impairing the public credit." Specifically mentioned were the construction of four large culverts and additional reservoirs.[31]

Far more impressive was the activity of Providence, a city with less than one-tenth Philadelphia's population. Fearful of the hardships awaiting the laboring poor that winter, Mayor Rodman proposed the filling in of the marshy grounds and districts covered by tide water (the "Cove lands") and the erection of a new City Hall. The Providence *Journal* agreed that "the Mayor judiciously proposes that labor shall be the condi-

[28] New York City Board of Commissioners of the Central Park, *Minutes for the Year ending April 30, 1858* (New York, 1858), 59-60, 83, 87-88, 100, 101, 103; *Ibid., Second Annual Report*, 6, 17; New York *Journal of Commerce*, Oct. 9, 1857; New York *Times*, Nov. 17, 21, 1857; Aldermen, *Proceedings*, LXX, 548. In the fall of 1857, the editors of *Harper's Weekly* had been confident that Central Park and a new City Hall would be more than enough to keep all the unemployed at work during the winter. [I (1857), 723.]

[29] Philadelphia Select Council, *Minutes 1857*, 237-239, 274; Philadelphia Common Council, *Journal 1857*, Appendix, 402-404.

[30] J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1884), I, 726. For petitions see Select Council, *Minutes 1857*, 252, 266, 283; *ibid., 1857/58*, 2, 15.

[31] Philadelphia Select Council, *Journal 1857/58*, 32; Philadelphia Common Council, *Journal 1857/58*, 82.

tion of charity wherever it is practicable, and that those whom the city is obliged to aid, shall render return to the public." A council committee expressed the view that it was not the city's duty to furnish work for its residents "except when the common good requires it" in ordinary times. But in a period of emergency such as then existed, it was proper to extend a "helping hand cheerfully." Rodman's first suggestion was endorsed, but not until 1874 was work begun on the City Hall. The council concurred in a resolution authorizing the surveyor of highways to hire workers, and the Cove work was begun immediately in mid-December. Lasting until the first week in March 1858, this $20,000 project afforded employment to an average of 500 men. At certain times as many as 800 were at work from among applicants deemed by the overseer of the poor to be suitable candidates for assistance.[32]

A number of Massachusetts cities also showed initiative. Somerville employed respectable, needy laborers at the ledges breaking stone for fifty cents a day, and when the highway appropriation was exhausted at the end of 1857, it voted an additional $1,500. A new road in Newton gave work to sixty men and twenty-five teams. The highway surveyor in Waltham spent about $400 in hiring needy men at the rate of sixty cents a day to prepare gravel for the coming season. Less than half of the $4,000 Lawrence had borrowed was found to be necessary for the temporary relief of about 350 families. "The city have derived a full equivalent for this labor," the mayor assured the public, "simply expending this money a little in advance of their immediate wants." Salem's $2,000 stone-breaking program for giving work to the unemployed, the mayor labeled "charity of the best kind because we get, in part, our equivalent therefore."[33]

[32] Providence *Daily Journal*, Oct. 11, Nov. 25, Dec. 30, 1857; Providence *Tribune*, Dec. 15, 1857. Weekly data on the progress of the Cove appeared every Monday in the *Daily Tribune*. The issue of March 8, 1858, gave the summary data used here. Cf. Providence, *City Documents, 1858/59*, No. 1, p. 12, No. 5, p. 5; *The City Hall, Providence* (Providence, 1881), 12.

[33] Somerville, *Reports 1857/58* (Boston, 1858), 25. On Newton, see Feder,

Relief and Public Works

Disagreement as to procedure between the two branches of the city council of Worcester led to a three-month delay before action was taken. Not until February 1858, when the overseers of the poor requested the city council to give work to twenty-five persons at a wage of fifty cents a day "to relieve them from suffering for want of food," were the commissioners of highways finally authorized to hire "destitute and suffering poor persons" selected by the overseers to work on the public thoroughfares or public grounds of the city. No more than $800 was to be spent, and wages were not to exceed sixty cents a day. By mid-April this project had ended.[34]

Fall River, Massachusetts, spent $3,583 for work on the city-owned Oak Grove Cemetery, $2,044 on streets and highways, and $3,848 on the city farm. Only persons "without means of support, and who but for such employment would be dependent on public charity for subsistence for themselves and families" were hired. In adjacent Fall River, Rhode Island, the town meeting empowered the town council to furnish work to the needy on the highways and the town farm.[35]

Although no other region used work projects as extensively as the manufacturing towns of eastern Massachusetts, similar efforts did occur in other states. A temporary workhouse was established at Calais, Maine, where about three tons of oakum were picked by men and boys for four cents a pound, while about a dozen hale men cut two or three hundred cords of wood. Newport put men on relief to work on the almshouse

Unemployment Relief, 32. Waltham, *Selectmen's Report . . . 1857/58* (Waltham, 1858), 21, 23; Lawrence, *Fifth Annual Report . . .* (Lowell, 1858), 6; Salem, *Communication from the Mayor to the City Council March 8, 1858, On Pauperism* (Essex Institute, Salem).

[34] Worcester Common Council, Journal, Nov. 9, 23, 1857; Apr. 19, 1858; Board of Aldermen, Journal, Feb. 8, 1858 (MS., City Hall); Worcester *Spy*, Nov. 12, 1857.

[35] Fall River Board of Aldermen, Records, Nov. 4, 1857; Fall River Common Council, Records, Nov. 4, Dec. 1, 14, 15, 1857; Fall River Finance Committee, *Report of the Receipts and Expenditures 1857/58* (Fall River, 1858), 36; Fall River, R. I., Town Meeting Minutes, Nov. 9, 1857 (MS., City Hall, Fall River, Mass.).

grounds, blasting rocks and preparing stone; the Rhode Islanders dined with the inmates on the days when they worked. Waterbury, Connecticut, made public improvements to relieve the unemployed to some extent. Rochester, New York, spent large sums on streets in 1857 and 1858. In response to the clamor of Newark's laborers for work rather than alms, the city council agreed to continue and forward such public improvements as were practicable and proper and consistent with the means at their command and also to make such appropriations to the overseers of the poor as would tend to aid the unemployed and destitute. A great many street contracts were let during the weeks that followed. Paterson, too, began a number of public works, particularly street construction, to help the unemployed. Another New Jersey locality, Elizabeth, not only appropriated $1,000 for relief to meet "the unexpected emergency of the times" but also authorized the street commissioner to put needy unemployed to work on the streets "cleaning the gutters, etc."[36]

Not all cities followed these practices. Although Mayor Rice recognized the bleak prospect facing Boston's unemployed, he was at a loss to suggest means whereby additional labor could be hired by the city. He thought it might be feasible for the city "to facilitate" the job of filling the Back Bay lands which the State had given to a contractor. The mayor of Manchester, New Hampshire, suggested preparing cement sewerage in anticipation of spring and a joint committee was appointed three months later (April 1858) to investigate "the cost and utility" of cement sewerage; if any decision was made, it was not recorded. The town meeting of North Providence, Rhode Island, empowered a committee to ascer-

[36] Harold A. Davis, *An International Community on the St. Croix (1604-1930)* (Orono, Me., 1950), 183-184; Newport Asylum Commissioners' Record, 1855-1865, Dec. 2, 1857 (City Hall, Newport); Waterbury *American*, Nov. 6, 1857; Blake McKelvey, *Rochester, the Flower City* (Cambridge, 1948), 33; Newark *Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 6, 9, 10, 1857; Newark Common Council, Minutes, vol. D., 96 (MS., City Hall); on Paterson, see New York *Daily Tribune*, Nov. 14, 1857; Elizabeth *New Jersey Journal*, Dec. 1, 1857.

tain the number of those in need and to provide employment to the able if existing relief provisions were inadequate.[37] A New Haven newspaper inquired why the city did not hire workmen to break stone and for other public works to "relieve hundreds who want to earn an honest living." Similarly a Wilmington, Delaware, newspaper vainly urged the city council to give the unemployed work "for a short time at least."[38]

Among those who called a special town meeting in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, to discuss an additional appropriation for poor relief were many men of property; the town decided to leave the matter up to the selectmen. When a second meeting was called a week later to see if the town would appropriate $1,000 for street repairs or other public improvements to give work to the unemployed who "would glady labor rather than become a charge to the town or state," the proposal was defeated on the ground that conditions did not warrant an extraordinary appropriation. In Syracuse the finance committee of the common council proposed a $10,000 loan for street improvements to give employment to those willing to work but too proud to receive public or private alms. Though labeled by the *Daily Journal* a "plausible and humane plan for the relief of the unemployed," the city council postponed action on it at the end of 1857, and nothing further seems to have been done.[39] Among the most vociferous advocates of public works for the relief of the distressed were the unemployed of Trenton who demanded to earn their livelihood rather than to be "classed as paupers." The street committee of the com-

[37] Boston, *City Documents 1857*, No. 76, pp. 7-8; Manchester, *Inaugural Address of the Mayor . . . January 5 1858* (Manchester, 1858), 7; Manchester Board of Aldermen, Journal, Apr. 6, 1858; North Providence Town Meeting Record, Nov. 2, 1857. Whether any public works measures were adopted is not known. The poor expense more than doubled over the previous year, though. [Overseers of the Poor Report, June 1858. (MS., Box 16, City Hall, Pawtucket).]

[38] New Haven *Daily Journal and Courier*, Nov. 20, 21, 1857; New Haven Court of Common Council, Minutes, VII, Nov. 2, 1857 (MS., City Clerk's Office); Wilmington *Delaware State Journal*, Nov. 3, 10, 1857.

[39] Pawtucket *Gazette*, Nov. 20, 26, Dec. 4, 1857; Pawtucket Town Meeting Records, Nov. 30, 1857 (MS., Pawtucket City Hall); Syracuse *Daily Journal*, Dec. 30, 1857.

mon council which stated that over 200 men could be employed advantageously on $8,000 of street repairs, "more particularly if the City has to support the said men without employment," favored their petition; and the *State Gazette* agreed that the repair of those streets which would have to be fixed next season would not be a waste of the taxpayers' money, and would "afford relief to the deserving poor." The city council, however, borrowed $6,000 for general relief purposes. When unemployed workers petitioned for city work again in January 1858, a resolution to spend $2,000 for street repairs failed of passage.[40]

On the federal level, Secretary of the Treasury Cobb, argued that suggestions to increase Federal expenditures to afford the country relief were not in harmony with the Constitution. Cobb, however, did recommend the continuation of "necessary and legitimate" public works, even if this would necessitate the augmentation of Washington's funds "by some extraordinary measure." The temporary postponement of less urgent public works which had not been started until the revenues came in would not deprive anyone of "employment to which he is authorized to look; will inflict no wrong upon any portion of the people." Faced with an anticipated deficit which actually exceeded $27,500,000, the largest peace-time deficit in the first century of federal operations, President Buchanan proposed that useful works under way should not be suspended but new ones postponed, "if this can be done without injury to the country." In fiscal 1858 five millions were spent on civil works, a decline of almost one-sixth from the previous year. While outlays for roads, canals, and public buildings declined, there was an increase of expenditure for rivers and harbors. The $1,926,000 for light stations, beacons, etc. was only $75,000 less than the previous year's total. The President ordered defense works to "proceed as though there had been no crisis in our monetary affairs." Accordingly,

[40] Trenton *Daily State Gazette and Republican*, Nov. 11, 12, 1857; Trenton Common Council, Minutes, Nov. 10, 1857; Jan. 15, 1858 (MS., City Hall).

$400,000 more than the previous year's total of $1,387,000 was spent on forts, arsenals, and armories.[41]

Further investigation would presumably reveal other localities where public works were contemplated or actually put into operation during the depression of 1857.[42] Enough eastern cases have been cited here, however, to draw certain conclusions. In no instance was the work in the nature of digging holes and filling them up again; all of the projects had an inherent utility apart from their being a means of giving work to the poor. What usually occurred was the commencement of an enterprise somewhat sooner than originally contemplated or the continuation of a project under way. This accomplishment should not be minimized in view of the natural tendency to slow down or defer public works in the face of shrinking tax revenues. That work relief and public works should have been proposed in many quarters as the obvious palliative for the plight of the unemployed is not surprising, given the central position of work in the American ethic. Rather than merely give charity to needy men who sought work, a number of localities preferred to receive a tangible return for the expenditure of public funds. That this was not even more commonly the practice in 1857 can be attributed to the overwhelming dictates of fiscal prudence, political stalemate, or to the tradition of outright almsgiving.

Seventy-odd years later the issues of public versus private spending and of work relief versus charity arose again. Although the debate was similar, the result was different; in the New Deal period the doctrine of constructing useful public works during periods of depression became the accepted ideal.

[41] *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances for the Year ending June 30, 1857* (Washington, 1858), 12-13; cf. New York *Journal of Commerce*, Oct. 28, 1857. *Congressional Globe*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess. (1858), Appendix, 2; U. S. Senate, *Executive Document 196*, 47 Cong., 1 Sess. (1882), 114, 286, 340, 522, 604.

[42] In the late spring of 1858, Buffalo's laborers demonstrated for "work or bread" and Chicago's street commissioners were still giving work to the poor. [Massachusetts Board to Investigate the Subject of the Unemployed, *Report . . .*, 12.]

America Looking Outward: The Years From Hayes to Harrison

MILTON PLESUR *

UNTIL recently historians have generally trodden lightly over the period of 1877-1889, describing it as a low point or nadir in American diplomacy.[1] The description is unfortunate. Although the United States did not achieve the status of world power until after the events of 1898, the story had a long introduction. The launching of Columbia into world-wide waters after the Spanish-American War was preceding by the construction of the ways after Appomattox.

During what has been described as the quiet years, preoccupation with internal developments all but precluded a vigorous overseas policy. The predatory Americans who set out to "barbecue the natural resources of a continent" had little lust for overseas adventure. The long peace in Europe gave a comfortable feeling of ocean-locked security. It seemed as if the American horizon was limited by factory smoke on one side and the vanishing frontier on the other. Even the most superficial perusal of the leading newspapers, periodicals, and state papers reveals a lack of interest in foreign affairs. Henry

* The author is assistant professor of general studies and lecturer in history and assistant dean of the University College at the University of Buffalo.

[1] See Samuel F. Bemis, *Diplomatic History of the United States*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1950), 432; Thomas A. Bailey, *Diplomatic History of the American People*, 4th ed. (New York, 1950), 427; Julius W. Pratt, *History of United States Foreign Policy* (New York, 1955), 367-368; Julius W. Pratt, *America's Colonial Experiment* (New York, 1950), 11; Dexter Perkins, *American Approach to Foreign Policy* (Upsala, Sweden, 1951), 119; Dexter Perkins, *Evolution of American Foreign Policy* (New York, 1948), 54; J. Fred Rippy, *America and the Strife of Europe* (Chicago, 1938), 77; L. Ethan Ellis, *Short History of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1951), 255. Significantly, Professor Bailey, who used the nadir idea as part of a chapter title in earlier editions, later abandoned it.

Cabot Lodge, the scholar-in-politics, summed up this feeling in 1889:

> Our relations with foreign nations today fill but a slight place in American politics, and excite generally a languid interest. We have separated ourselves so completely from the affairs of other people.[2]

While it would be futile indeed to gainsay this very obvious neglect of foreign affairs, the post-Reconstruction period, despite all its diplomatic tranquillity, contained the seeds of the later so-called Large Policy. The eighties were years of flux, a time during which the signs of a more vigorous foreign policy were becoming apparent. It was a time when expansionism changed. With the transition from an agrarian to an industrial economy, with the riveting of the mainland with bonds of steel, continental expansion gave way to the seductive thought of overseas empire. The day at least could be foreseen when more would be produced than could be consumed. American attention was thus directed beyond the water's edge. The by-product of this Drang nach Westen was an adequate navy, a refurbished merchant marine, and remote bases. Interest in foreign policy was thus quiescent rather than dead. In a classic statement of what was to be termed our New Manifest Destiny, John Fiske confessed in 1885:

> I believe that the time will come when . . . it will be possible . . . to speak of the United States as stretching from pole to pole. . . . Indeed, only when such a state of things has begun to be realized can civilization, as . . . demarcated from barbarism, be said to have fairly begun.[3]

As if to reinforce the prevalent thought that overseas intercourse counted for so little, a popular pastime traditional in the United States was continued in the 1880's. The diplomatic service was denounced as a costly luxury, a "humbug" and

[2] Henry C. Lodge, *Life of George Washington, American Statesmen*, ed. by John T. Morse, Jr. (Boston and New York), II, 129.

[3] John Fiske, "Manifest Destiny," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, LXX (March 1885), 578-590.

"sham," a "relic of mediaeval and monarchial trumpery."[4] From Jefferson to Eisenhower, with certain recent and notable exceptions, economy in governmental expenditures has been a persistent goal. During the quiescent seventies and eighties, rustic solons often maintained that the foreign service was expendable.[5] Diplomacy seldom had a favored position in the perennial porkbarrels. Then, too, as civil service reform reduced the spoils of victory, the foreign service became increasingly the reservoir of patronage.[6] Moreover, the perfection of steam transportation and the cable afforded still another argument that the foreign service was superfluous.[7] Diplomatic establishments abroad were often pictured as causing "un-American snobbery." Long before George Harvey sported knee-breeches at the Court of St. James, it was charged that our "codfish aristocracy" went abroad preferring the "spotted peaches" of European baskets to the products of Delaware or Jersey "without freckle or spreck."[8]

Nevertheless, it is possible to detect a wave of the future under this surface. An inevitable result arising out of the accelerated Industrial Revolution was a demand for an improved foreign service.[9] The consular service, the branch of overseas activity devoted to the promotion of American commerce, received a much better press than its sister-service. Very seldom was a consular appropriation bill pared by the congressional Watchdogs of the Treasury—so important was the role of overseas commerce in American foreign policy.[10]

By the time Cleveland left the White House in 1889, America's manufacturing potential reached a point at which domes-

[4] *Public Opinion,* VI (Feb. 9, 1889), 367; New York *Herald,* April 10, 1880.
[5] *Congressional Record,* 48 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 431.
[6] New York *Tribune,* July 17, 1885; New York *Herald,* April 10, 1880; *Nation,* XL (June 11, 1885), 476.
[7] *Congressional Record,* 49 Cong., 2 Sess., Appendix, 93; New York *Herald,* April 10, 1880.
[8] *Congressional Record,* 48 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 437.
[9] John Macarthy, "A Dish of Diplomacy," *Catholic World,* XXXII (Oct. 1880), 57-69.
[10] *Congressional Record,* 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 1608-1622.

tic demands had been exceeded by supply and the need for foreign markets became essential. For a nation with a favorable balance of trade, dreams of commercial isolation were no longer possible. Of course, as a cotton producer of consequence, the United States had been involved in the world economy before the Civil War, but the increased volume and variety of exportable goods made for a difference between antebellum and postbellum commerce. The newer business entanglements necessitated a broader outlook, although many a decade was to elapse before these portents were to be fully realized. In the eighties the United States was a "billion dollar country" and such wealth obviously sought egress beyond our shores. In these confident, optimistic times all America was breaking out.[11] The modern America with its increased urbanization and accelerated industrialization was bound to become further involved in world affairs.

Glowing and rosy testimonies to the value of America's increased stature on the economic horizon were a commonplace. For example, James Russell Lowell, Minister to Great Britain, held that if commerce was not a great civilizer itself, it had always been an intermediary and vehicle of civilization.[12] A commercial journal declared that even in a country filled with isolationists, one could hardly find a person not desirous of increased commercial entanglements.[13]

Much of the marvelous growth of America's export trade was due to Secretary of State William M. Evarts' revitalization of the consular service. Believing that the government, not self-appointed captains of industry, ought to develop American trade,[14] Evarts sought out consuls with business experi-

[11] The domestic effects of the business depression of 1883-1885 were also to create concern in official and unofficial circles for overseas markets.

[12] James R. Lowell, *American Ideas for English Readers* (Boston, 1892), 12-13.

[13] *Export and Finance*, I (June 29, 1889), 3.

[14] Brainerd Dyer, *Public Career of William M. Evarts* (Berkeley, 1933), 234. That the Consular Service was continuously in need of improvement can best be realized by further reorganizations, notably that under Secretary Elihu Root.

ence, investigated the corps, and inaugurated the monthly consular reports system to assist the department in extending and encouraging overseas trade.[15]

It was the consular official who made the most helpful suggestions for improving our trade policies. Some of their advisories included establishing foreign branch exhibition houses, furnishing price lists and samples of goods, improving the quality of exports, increasing the efficiency of American business representatives abroad, and ending the prevalent American deficiency in foreign language.[16] In general our businessmen were not very aggressive in securing foreign trade. The government seemed more far-sighted and, as in the later acquisition of colonies, business seemed to lag behind. Consuls stationed in cities large and small all over the globe were truly the commercial vanguards of the Republic.

The "pork diplomacy" of the eighties—the dispute over German discrimination against American hog products—was an early example of growing co-operation between business and government. Business in this case wanted to expand its markets while the government smarted at the thought that another power could so insult the American Eagle. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations recommended a reprisal bill excluding from the United States products of foreign countries discriminating against American products. This recommendation was ultimately embodied in the Meat Inspection Law of 1890. The pork issue was finally settled by

[15] *Ibid.*, 237; Graham H. Stuart, *The Department of State . . .* (New York, 1949), 152; *Bradstreet's*, II (August 7, 1880), 3.

[16] The consular reports can be found in *Consular Despatches* in the National Archives; *Reports from the Consuls of the United States on the Commerce, Manufacturers, Etc., of their Consular Districts*, 72 vols. (Washington, 1880-1903); *Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries . . . , 1855-1902*, 54 vols. (Washington, 1857-1903). Still further testimony of consular leadership in economic activity was their genuine support of American participation at foreign fairs and exhibitions, proving that our inventive resources and mechanical know-how were ready to demand a place in the commercial sun. American successes overseas were due in no small part to official interest and intervention. [Merle Curti, "America at the World Fairs 1851-1893," *American Historical Review*, LV (July 1950), 833-856.]

the Saratoga Agreement of August 22, 1891, which provided for a *quid pro quo* whereby Germany agreed to admit American pork and extend to American agricultural products tariff concessions granted to other countries. In return, the United States promised not to put into effect the Meat Law of 1890.[17]

The diplomatic and consular service was but one agency of foreign relations. A strong right arm of diplomacy and commerce was the American naval and merchant fleet. It was the merchant marine that was soon to carry surpluses of farm and factory to overseas markets, and it was the navy that became the arm of the offensive power of our political policies pursued across the seas.[18]

The realization that the once proud and glorious navy had succumbed to "rot, rust, and obsolescence" aroused persistent comment. Secretary of the Navy W. H. Hunt, serving in the Arthur administration, summed up this thought when he observed that "the mercantile interests of our country have extended . . . over . . . the globe. Our citizens engaged in commerce . . . look to the navy for the supervisory protection of their persons and property."[19] Though Congress was checked by public inertia, hard times, and a political paralysis induced by see-saw political control, some Congressmen wanted to build. The creation of a Naval Advisory Board in 1881, the Navy Bill of 1883 providing for the construction of steel ships, and the founding of the Naval War College laid the foundation for the new navy.[20]

[17] See Jeanette Keim, *Forty Years of German-American Political Relations* (Philadelphia, 1919), 67; Clara E. Schieber, *Transformation of American Sentiment Toward Germany 1870-1914* (Boston and New York, 1923), 187; Louis L. Snyder, "American-German Pork Dispute, 1871-1879," *Journal of Modern History*, XVII (1945), 16-28; *Senate Executive Document 119*, 52 Cong., 1 Sess., 110.

[18] Alfred T. Mahan, "United States Looking Outward," *Atlantic Monthly*, LXVI (Dec. 1890), 816-824. For a consideration of our lagging merchant marine trade, see David M. Pletcher, "Inter-American Shipping in the 1880's: A Loosening Tie," *Inter-American Economic Affairs*, X (Winter 1956), 14-41.

[19] *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy, 1881*, I, 3.

[20] See Robert Seager II, "Years Before Mahan: The Unofficial Case for the New Navy, 1880-1890," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XL (Dec. 1953), 491-512; Harold and Margaret Sprout, *Rise of American Naval Power, 1776-1918* (Princeton, 1946); G. T. Davis, *Navy Second to None* (New York, 1940);

The Historian

The Empire Days of America did not dawn with McKinley's Administration, but rather with Harrison's.[21] Alfred T. Mahan's *magnum opus* on seapower stands as perhaps the most eloquent testimony that the United States was taking a less provincial outlook on world problems. The new phase of naval development which began in the eighties and which was later shaped by the Mahan thesis reflected the quickening of new interests.

As the United States became of age, the tempo of foreign missionary activities was accelerated. Long before Rudyard Kipling coined the "White Man's Burden," the implications had already become clear. Missionaries did not limit their work to faith and the humanitarian sphere. Although their credo and primary task was religious propagation, their influence extended over the entire face of the globe and modified American provincialism, promoting a more world-oriented outlook. Especially noteworthy was their continuing work in Hawaii and pioneering in Korea.[22] The salesman's sample case followed the portable altars. Christianity introduced new conceptions of the ideal purport of wealth—if "an honest man is the noblest work of God," then the honest merchant was an honor to commerce. The missionaries thus attempted to redeem the mercantile world from the spirit of greed and lust, maintaining that in trade the Protestant conception of service was higher and better than that of pay.[23] Missionary activity became a form of foreign service and no part of the earth's surface was exempt from its influence.[24]

Donald W. Mitchell, *History of the Modern American Navy from 1883 Through Pearl Harbor* (New York, 1946).

[21] A. T. Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston, 1890), 57-58; A. T. Volwiler, "Harrison, Blaine, and American Foreign Policy, 1889-1893," American Philosophical Society *Proceedings*, LXXIX (1938), 637-648. See also Volwiler's "The Early Empire Days of the United States," *West Virginia History*, XVIII (Jan. 1957), 116-127.

[22] John S. Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress* (Chicago, Toronto and New York, 1893), III, 248, 357, 386, 397.

[23] *Ibid.*, III, 460; James Johnston, ed., *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World* (New York, 1888), I, 138.

[24] Augustus C. Thompson, *Future Probation and Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1886), 5.

The fact that literary people evinced growing interest in the foreign scene as sources of their inspiration and themes was still further testimony of America's world-mindedness. A veritable flood of travel books produced by such literary greats as Mark Twain, William D. Howells, Henry James, and less well-known writers began to appear in the 1870's and 1880's. Here was a phase of international relations over which the State Department had no control. The reciprocal influence of separate civilizations upon each other through literary and artistic exchanges was a potent force and responsible in part at least for the change in the United States from provincialism to a more cosmopolitan spirit.[25]

Another literary manifestation of America's world interests was the development of the international novel, associated chiefly with Henry James. A life-long pilgrim to other shrines and the most famous literary expatriate of the day, he was convinced that the materialistic, acquisitive, and "thin" American climate was uncongenial to the artist. Such works as *The American* (1877), *The Europeans* (1878), *Daisy Miller* (1879), and *Washington Square* (1881) emphasized the conflict between Americans and Europeans.[26]

James Russell Lowell, diplomat and writer, performed yeoman's service in bolstering Anglo-American relations. He once asserted that "the dust that is sacred to [the Englishman] is sacred to [the American]."[27] Such remarks helped improve in no small measure Anglo-American feelings in an age

[25] "New View of Our International Relations," New Orleans *Daily Picayune*, March 22, 1889; Robert E. Spiller *et al.*, *Literary History of the United States* (New York, 1948), II, 827. Some of the travel books published in this period include Henry James, *Transatlantic Sketches* (Boston, 1875), *A Little Tour in France* (London, 1878), and *Portraits of Places* (Boston, 1883); William D. Howells, *Tuscan Cities* (Boston, 1886), *Italian Journeys* (New York, 1887), and *Venetian Cities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1892).

[26] See in addition to James' works: Percy Lubbock, ed., *Letters of Henry James* (New York, 1920); Van Wyck Brooks, *Pilgrimage of Henry James* (London, 1928); F. O. Mathiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock, *Notebooks of Henry James* (New York, 1947); George A. Finch, *Development of the Fiction of Henry James from 1879 to 1886* (New York, 1949).

[27] James R. Lowell, *American Ideas* (Boston, 1892), 59-62.

marked by British splendid isolation and traditional American apathy.

While James and Lowell were the most famous writers who turned to Europe and elsewhere for inspiration, there were others who were noteworthy in this respect. William Dean Howells interpreted Italy to the American population, Lafcadio Hearn translated the strange Orient for native readers, and Henry Adams in his quest for the meaning of life wrote about many lands.[28]

The nation's literary cosmopolitanism arose in part from the fact that the roots of American culture lay overseas. Americans were still largely dependent upon older lands for inspiration. The American *literati* who lived overseas and those who merely wrote on foreign themes were less exiles than advance agents of Americanism and the expansionist philosophy. The literary spirit is after all the true world citizen and is at home anywhere.[29] Many American authors possessed such a world vision, a persistent nostalgia for the older culture.

In many respects the year 1889 was a watershed in American diplomacy. Participation in a Samoan agreement, sponsorship of a Pan-American Conference, and the continuing debate over an enlarged navy pointed to a new course for American diplomacy. Certainly there was an awareness of broader horizons on the part of interested groups as evidenced in the concern about steamships, the realization of the strategic and commercial uses of a fleet, the discussion by exporters of foreign opportunities, the activities of missionaries, the increased number of foreign correspondents overseas, and the interest evinced by literary people in foreign themes.

The children of 1889 have lived to see the United States

[28] On Hearn see Vera McWilliams, *Lafcadio Hearn* (Boston, 1946); Elizabeth Bisland, ed., *Japanese Letters of Lafcadio Hearn* (Boston, 1910); Nina H. Kennard, *Lafcadio Hearn* (London, 1911); and Yone Noguchi, *Lafcadio Hearn in Japan* (New York, 1911). On Howells see Clara M. Kirk and Rudolf Kirk, *William Dean Howells* (New York, 1950). On Adams see *Education of Henry Adams*, Modern Library Edition (New York, 1931).

[29] William D. Howells, "American Literature in Exile," in *Literature and Life* (New York and London, 1902), 203-204.

intimately concerned with every quarter of the globe. Although it was a long way to the waters of Formosa, the path had its faint beginnings before the twentieth century began. What did Americans think of the rest of the world in those far-off halcyon days? How did they react to a growing role in the determination of world affairs?

Most Americans thought of European militarism, warfare, and colonialism as illustrations of the degeneration of the Old World and none of their concern. Was not Europe the home of monarchies and destitute dukes seeking American heiresses? Americans were proud to have no concern in the troublesome foreign machinations of Europe: ours was a gilded superiority, a smug and comfortable nationalism.[30]

Despite the fact that the United States looked with a jaundiced eye at some European institutions of this period, there was a peculiar contradiction in this attitude. With the older idea of disgust and scorn came a new deference to the Old World on the part of some Americans desirous of escaping from the mundane realities of the new acquisitive and materialistic age. American ideas about Europe were at once parochial, antipathetic, and nationalistic, but if the newspaper space devoted to Europe was any measure, they were also very substantial. There would seem to have been a rather persistent and mysterious contradiction in the American attitude.[31]

Concepts of Latin America were always encased in the Monroe Doctrine.[32] Such expansionist sentiment as there was —the desire for bases and an American-owned canal, the pro-

[30] Secretary of State Bayard stated in 1885 that he regarded the "small politics" or "staircase intrigues" of Europe with "impatience and contempt." [Charles C. Tansill, *Foreign Policy of Thomas F. Bayard* (New York, 1940), xxviii.] The press was replete with warnings against European imperialism. The New York *Times* (Jan. 1, 1885), described the European picture as the story of a rapacious endeavor to compensate for empty policies at home by equally empty policies abroad.

[31] See Merle Curti, *Growth of American Thought* (New York and London, 1943), 659-660.

[32] "The Monroe Doctrine in South America," New York *Herald*, Sept. 18, 1887. See Graham H. Stuart, *Latin America and the United States* (New York, 1923); Dexter Perkins, *Monroe Doctrine, 1867-1907* (Baltimore, 1937), and *Hands Off, A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston, 1946).

motion of Pan-Americanism, and even the movement for reciprocity—was justified in the name of the Doctrine. American concern with the War of the Pacific (1879-1882) developed partially out of resentment over European control of the Chilean and Peruvian markets.[33] The chimera of Central American union, a pet project of the State Department, was intended to facilitate commerce, to further the cause of republicanism, and to forestall possible European intervention.[34] The vision of Pan-American union, the single constructive policy of James G. Blaine's long career, was to evolve into the Good Neighbor policy. Reciprocity talk, reflecting an economic interest, was a staple of every congressional session. The United States was turning its attention southward, emphasizing trade and America's supposedly advisory role as "big brother." However, none of these subjects seemed to excite as much concern as the Isthmian Canal issue.

By the 1880's, the national desire to pierce the Isthmus heightened. From all sides came the cry "America first in the digging." A canal linking the Atlantic and Pacific would be beneficial from the commercial point of view; besides, the United States was not prepared to allow a foreign canal on American soil. Rutherford B. Hayes affirmed rather forcefully American ownership and control.[35] Like all the presidents of the period with the exception of Grover Cleveland, most Americans were emphatically for an American canal. "America is going to control anything and everything on this conti-

[33] *Senate Executive Document 79*, 47 Cong., 1 Sess.; Herbert Millington, *American Diplomacy and the War of the Pacific* (New York, 1948), 34, 53. American interest in the War of the Pacific was explained in terms of championing neutral rights and concern over possible European interference. See Millington and Russell H. Bastert, "A New Approach to the Origins of Blaine's Pan American Policy," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXIX (August 1949), 375-412.

[34] Blaine to Logan, May 7, 1881, Department of State, *Instructions to the Diplomatic Officers of the United States* (Hereafter cited as *Instructions*), *Central America*, XVIII, No. 145.

[35] *Senate Executive Document 112*, 46 Cong., 2 Sess.; James D. Richardson, ed., *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, 1896-1899), VII, 585-586; Charles R. Williams, ed., *Diary and Letters of Rutherford Birchard Hayes* (Columbus, Ohio, 1934), 568.

nent,"[36] Andrew Carnegie wrote to Blaine. Blaine's overriding goal was an American continental system, and his canal policy, his desire for Central American union, and the promotion of Latin American commerce were all designed to achieve this end.[37]

Economic motivations rather than grandiose political ambitions characterized our relations with Samoa, Hawaii, and Canada. The vast Pacific with its untold island treasures had challenged the imagination of Americans since the days of the Confederation ginseng traders. Despite the fact that the United States received the right to establish a naval station at Pago-Pago in 1878, it denied interest in political control, annexation, or expansion; concern with Samoa was strategic and commercial. However, it was to be in this far-off paradise that the United States was to depart from its traditional policy of non-interference in the external affairs of other states so evident in its European relations.[38] Sometimes a denial of aggressive ambitions, like Shakespeare's lady who protested too much, must be construed as an indication of interest. American-Samoan relations furnish a case in point. State Department official Alvey A. Adee, inclining toward nascent imperialism, concluded that only through an assertive policy could the United States hope for a permanent foothold.[39]

To take or not to take was a perennial question since 1842 in the relations between the United States and Hawaii. However, commercial possibilities and the fear of foreign interfer-

[36] Andrew Carnegie to James G. Blaine, January 14, 1882, *Blaine MSS.* Library of Congress.

[37] Blaine to Dichman, June 24, 1881, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1881* (Washington, 1882), 356-357; Blaine to Lowell, November 19, 1881, *Senate Executive Document 161*, 56 Cong., 1 Sess., 178-184; Alice F. Tyler, *Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine* (Minneapolis, 1927), 17; James G. Blaine, *Political Discussions, Legislative, Diplomatic and Popular* (Norwich, Conn., 1887), 411-413.

[38] Sylvia Masterson, *Origins of International Rivalry in Samoa, 1845-1884* (Stanford, 1934), 106; George H. Ryden, *Foreign Policy of the United States in Relation to Samoa* (New Haven, 1933).

[39] *Reports of the Diplomatic Bureau, Department of State,* IV, No. 1010 (March 30, 1880); IV, No. 12 (March 30, 1880); V, No. 66 (Dec. 22, 1881).

ence remained the two cardinal principles in the nation's Hawaiian relations. Here again James G. Blaine furnished an excellent example of America's new role in world affairs. Obviously intending to expand the Monroe Doctrine, he sketched a zone of American commercial dominance in the Pacific which included the Hawaiian archipelago.[40] The question of Hawaiian reciprocity was mulled over and over again. Finally realized in 1875, it marked the beginning of a shift in the attitude of Americans toward foreign problems. Although the Reciprocity Treaty was renewed in 1884, it was not approved until the next year, when the Senate added the proviso that the United States would secure the exclusive use of Pearl Harbor as a naval station. Such action, together with the State Department's recognition that American investments justified protests against Hawaii's domestic policies, showed that the Island Kingdom was becoming more and more linked to the American defense and economic systems.[41]

With regard to Canada, interest wavered between those who sought commercial possibilities and those who wanted Old Glory to fly over the North Pole.[42] An intermediate group thought of more intimate commercial relations as a step toward eventual union.[43] As big business grew bigger, American foreign policy toward Canada came to be increasingly guided by talk of commercial union and tariff reciprocity.[44] The fish-

[40] Blaine to Comly, *Instructions, Hawaii*, II, No. 111 (Nov. 19, 1881); II, No. 113 (Dec. 1, 1881).

[41] Sylvester K. Stevens, *American Expansion in Hawaii, 1842-1898* (Harrisburg, Penn., 1945), 154, 159.

[42] Benjamin F. Butler, "Defenseless Canada," *North American Review*, CXLVII (Oct. 1888), 441-452; Henry C. Lodge, "Fisheries Question," *Ibid.*, CXLVI (Feb. 1888), 121-130; Goldwin Smith, "Canada and the United States," *Ibid.*, CXXXI (July 1880), 14-25.

[43] "Canadian Annexation," New York *Tribune*, June 5, 1887. For a contemporary statement on the commercial potentialities of American-Canadian relationships, see Justin S. Morill, "Is Union With Canada Desirable?" *Forum*, VI (Jan. 1889), 451-464.

[44] "Commercial and Political Union," New York *Times*, May 29, 1887; "Canadian Commerce," *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXIII (July 30, 1881); for all of these topics see Charles C. Tansill, *Canadian-American Relations, 1875-1911* (New Haven, 1943).

eries dispute, destined to plague diplomats for 127 years, reflected the degree to which business became concerned with matters of foreign policy.[45] The United States in its relations with Canada did not always appear in the best light. Even in the quiet years, there was an annexation impulse that in the fullness of time was to lead not to absorption but to a cordial understanding forged on the anvil of a troubled century.

Of the geographical areas of the world, Americans paid the least attention to Africa and the Orient. Not until Dewey steamed into Manila Bay did American headlines reflect interest in the Far East; thereafter American interest steadily increased. The United States had long favored the open door, or equality of opportunity, in Asiatic trade.[46] Many Americans were especially interested in Japan because it was a commonplace that the Land of the Rising Sun looked up to the nation which had introduced it to the West.[47] The spectacle of a nation surging with the vigor and ambition of rediscovered youth excited American curiosity.[48] Although China and Japan offered great commercial possibilities for American enterprise, there was much ignorance and indifference about the two countries.[49]

Serious American concern with Korea did not begin with the fateful June 25, 1950. This peninsula, still in the forefront of our minds and recently the subject of page one headlines written in blood, had been in the American sphere even before 1900. In fact, Americans opened Korea to world trade. In response to a congressional resolution,[50] the Navy Department

[45] For a summary of press opinion on the fisheries problem, see "Fisheries Question," *Public Opinion*, I (May 22, 1886), 106. See also Tansill's *Canadian American Relations* cited above.

[46] *Reports of the Diplomatic Bureau, Department of State*, V, No. 61½ (May 1, 1881); "American Influence in the East," New York *Herald*, Nov. 21, 1887; see also Tyler Dennett, *Americans in East Asia* (New York, 1922), and Milton Plesur, "Across the Wide Pacific," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXVIII (Feb. 1959), 73-80.

[47] "Japan," *Missionary Herald*, LXVI (March 1870), 74-77.

[48] New York *Herald*, June 21, 1889.

[49] "China and the United States," *Atlantic Monthly*, LIX (May 1887), 586-590.

[50] *Congressional Record*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 2324, 2599-2601.

commissioned Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt to undertake a long and detailed mission which included the task of opening Korea to world commerce.[51] In May 1882, the sailor-diplomat reported success and enthusiastically predicted that the Pacific would soon become the commercial domain of the United States.[52]

In the 1880's the spotlight began to be turned on the Dark Continent. The United States had evinced concern with Africa from the days of the Liberian settlement to the news of the adventures of Henry M. Stanley. Because American interest in Africa was of long standing, the lure of that continent's economic riches attracted special interest.[53] Tangible evidence of this concern was the 1878 mission of Shufeldt to West Africa, part of the same mission which eventually took him to the Orient. His chief recommendation was for the establishment of a consular service in West Africa, described as the "great commercial prize of the world."[54] Six years later, Willard P. Tisdel, on orders from the State Department, introduced American products into the Congo valley.[55] There was even a mild epidemic of African fever: plans for a trans-African railroad were debated, surveys of the coast were proposed, and Congress inquired into the feasibility of setting up trading posts.[56] But the fever was not so high that the United

[51] *Cruise of 'Ticonderoga'* in U. S. Navy Department, National Archives (Unpublished MSS.); Charles O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers* (Baltimore, 1912), 309; Paullin, *Opening of Korea by Commodore Shufeldt* (Boston, 1910).

[52] Shufeldt to Secretary of the Navy Thompson, October 13, 1880, *Letters From Commodore R. W. Shufeldt—'Ticonderoga,' Africa and Asia, Oct. 1878-Nov. 1880*, 2 vols. U. S. Department of Navy Archives. These volumes, located in the National Archives, contain notes from Shufeldt's journal and instructions to and reports from his expedition. (Cited below as *Letters from . . . Shufeldt.*)

[53] "The Congo Commission," *Bradstreet's*, X (Sept. 6, 1884), 146. See also Milton Plesur, "Spotlight on the Dark Continent," *African World* (June 1956), 14-15.

[54] Shufeldt to Thompson, August 2, 1879, *Letters from . . . Shufeldt.*

[55] Frelinghuysen to Tisdel, September 8, 1884, *Special Missions, Department of State*, III, No. 1.

[56] *Senate Journal*, 45 Cong., 2 Sess., 33; *Ibid.*, 45 Cong., 3 Sess., 259; *Ibid.*,

States could break with tradition and ratify the Berlin Conference (1884) proceedings. The American delegate to this meeting was instructed to confine his attention only to commercial topics and to avoid entering into wrangling over Africa's political future.[57] It is important to note that even though its delegate's hands were tied, the United States did participate in an international conference. By 1889, the possibilities and potentialities that Africa presented were common knowledge, and the New York *Herald* even predicted that the continent would present the "next ground" in the field for human enterprise.[58]

Alfred T. Mahan, writing in 1906, summed up the newer feeling toward foreign problems that had begun in the eighties: "I am frankly an imperialist, in the sense that I believe that no nation . . . should henceforth maintain the policy of isolation."[59] As the old nineteenth-century simplicity gave way to twentieth-century complexity, there was bound to be some overlapping between the shades of the past and the portents of the future. Roaming through the sources for this period one meets latent expansionism at all points. The eighties was not a low point in American diplomacy, but rather a time of preparation—the beginning of bigger things. The New Manifest Destiny had its roots in the very years of America's industrial expansion. When the depression clouds of 1893 lifted, the sunshine of prosperity revealed an Expand or Bust philosophy. Amidst such a climate of opinion, the United States took its place in the front ranks of the nations of the world.

48 Cong., 1 Sess., 195; *Senate Miscellaneous Documents 59*, 48th Cong., 1 Sess.; *Congressional Record*, 48 Cong., 1 Sess., 1378.

[57] *House Report 2655*, 48 Cong. 2 Sess., 1.

[58] New York *Herald*, August 30, 1889.

[59] Alfred T. Mahan, *From Sail to Steam, Recollections of Naval Life* (New York and London, 1906), 324.

Graduate Student Essay

L. Q. C. Lamar's "Eulogy" of Charles Sumner: A Reinterpretation

JOHN A. MAYNE*

OF FIRST importance to any study of the "eulogy" which Representative L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi pronounced on the death of Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts in 1874 is an awareness of the vast differences between the two men in their political and social thinking. Complete understanding could emerge, of course, only after an intensive study of the backgrounds and formative influences of each, but a fairly adequate picture can be constructed through an examination of their congressional careers and activities.

Charles Sumner, the older of the two by fourteen years, after having refused a Whig nomination to be a candidate for the Thirtieth Congress and having failed to be included on the Freesoil ticket for the Thirty-first Congress, finally was elected by a coalition of Freesoilers and Democrats and entered the United States Senate on December 1, 1851.[1] He immediately began his antislavery activities by attacking the compromise attempts and the Fugitive Slave Law and by making his "Crime Against Kansas" speech, which resulted in the physical assault upon him by Representative Preston Smith

* The author, presently assistant professor of the English language and literature at Mississippi Southern College, wrote this article under the direction of Dr. Ira V. Brown while a candidate for the doctor of philosophy degree in English at The Pennsylvania State University.

[1] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, 1950), 1883.

Brooks of South Carolina in May 1856 and his absence from the Senate from that date until December 1859.[2]

It was while Sumner was absent from the Senate that L. Q. C. Lamar was elected to the House of Representatives of the Thirty-fifth Congress as a Democrat.[3] He entered Congress as a violently pro-Southern supporter of the doctrines of John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis and declared on the floor of the House: "Others may boast of their widely extended patriotism, and their enlarged and comprehensive love of this Union. With me, I confess that the promotion of Southern interests is second only to the preservation of Southern honor."[4]

By the time Sumner returned to Congress in 1859 to begin his all-out attack upon slavery with his "Barbarism of Slavery" speech,[5] Lamar was preparing to walk out of the national legislature;[6] and in 1861, while Sumner was urging the Emancipation Proclamation on Lincoln,[7] Lamar, "the recognized leader of the 'immediate secessionists,' " was drafting the Mississippi Ordinance of Secession.[8]

During the Civil War, Lamar saw active duty as a colonel in the 19th Mississippi Regiment in Virginia and, when ill-health forced him to retire, was appointed a special commissioner of the Confederacy to Russia.[9] After the War, he retired to his law practice and his professorship at the University of Mississippi[10] and to efforts to assist in the reorganization of his state government—a reorganization which Charles Sumner, now allied with Thaddeus Stevens of the House, was endeav-

[2] George H. Haynes, "Charles Sumner," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVIII, 209-211.

[3] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress*, 1430.

[4] Quoted by John F. Kennedy, *Profiles in Courage* (New York, 1956), 159.

[5] Haynes, "Sumner," 211.

[6] Haywood J. Pearce, Jr., "Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus Lamar," *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 552.

[7] Haynes, "Sumner," 211.

[8] James Wilford Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901), 5-6.

[9] Pearce, "Lamar," 552.

[10] *Ibid.*

oring to make as difficult as possible by pushing the Military Reconstruction and Civil Rights measures and taking a prominent part in the attempted impeachment of President Johnson.[11] Lamar was a member of the Mississippi State Constitutional Convention of 1865,[12] which Sumner declared was "little more than a 'rebel conspiracy to obtain political power.' "[13]

By 1872 Sumner had had trouble with President Grant over the latter's Santo Domingo project, had been removed from the chair of the foreign relations committee, had in consequence somewhat softened his attitude toward the South, and had therefore suffered the disaffection of his own party.[14] In this same year, Lamar was once more elected to the House of Representatives of the Forty-third Congress, "winning the first Democratic victory in Mississippi since the beginning of Congressional Reconstruction."[15] And Lamar's first utterance of importance—in April 1874—was his eulogy of Sumner. The situation has been thus summed up by John F. Kennedy in his *Profiles in Courage:*

> Lucius Lamar of Mississippi was appealing in the name of the South's most implacable enemy, the Radical Republican who had helped make the Reconstruction Period a black nightmare the South could never forget: Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Charles Sumner—who assailed Daniel Webster as a traitor for seeking to keep the South in the Union—who helped crucify Edmund Ross for his vote against the Congressional mob rule that would have ground the South and the Presidency under its heel—whose own death was hastened by the terrible caning administered to him on the Senate floor years earlier by Senator Brooks of South Carolina, who thereupon became a Southern hero—Charles Sumner was now dead. And Lucius Lamar, known in the prewar days as one of the most rabid "fire-eaters" ever

[11] Haynes, "Sumner," 211-212.
[12] *Biographical Directory of the American Congress,* 1430.
[13] New York *World,* Sept. 16, 1865, quoted in Garner, *Reconstruction,* 94.
[14] Haynes, "Sumner," 212-213.
[15] Pearce, "Lamar," 552.

to come out of the deep South, was standing on the floor of the House and delivering a moving eulogy lamenting his departure![16]

When Charles Sumner died of a heart attack on March 11, 1874, memorial addresses were in order in both houses of Congress, and Lamar was invited by the Massachusetts delegation of the lower house to deliver one of these.[17] On April 27, Senator George Sewall Boutwell offered a Senate resolution that business be suspended for the offering of tributes; the resolution was unanimously adopted, and Boutwell and eight other senators spoke in praise of Sumner.[18] That same afternoon, Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar of Massachusetts offered a similar resolution in the House of Representatives and delivered the initial tribute.[19]

Hoar's was a typical eulogy, concentrating completely upon its subject, containing a short biography, extolling Sumner's many virtues, and not failing to admit his defects—lack of sense of humor, imperiousness, and intolerance of difference of opinion—nor to excuse those defects:

> But all this came from the strength of his convictions; from his own belief in his own thoroughness of study and purity of purpose; from what has been happily described as his "sublime confidence in his own moral sagacity." He was terribly in earnest, and could not understand how others could fail to see what he saw so clearly.[20]

But Hoar did not neglect the opportunity to remind the South that it was to blame for Sumner's long years of suffering and for his death. Referring to the beating of Sumner by Representative Brooks eight years previously, he charged:

[16] Kennedy, *Profiles*, 152-153.
[17] Edward Mayes, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar: His Life, Times and Speeches* (Nashville, 1896), 183.
[18] *Congressional Record*, 43 Cong., 1 Sess., 3399-3406.
[19] *Ibid.*, 3409.
[20] *Ibid.*, 3410.

> The terrible injury to the spinal column, which was nearly fatal at the time, resulted in the malady, *angina pectoris,* which at last terminated his life. . . . There is no doubt that he died a martyr to the cause of liberty, and to the efforts which he could not relax in its behalf, as truly as they who fell on the field of stricken battle. The bludgeon preceded the bayonet and the bullet in that civil war which began long before 1861; and did its work of death as surely, if more slowly.[21]

It is therefore not difficult to imagine that the listeners expected something quite different from what they heard when Hoar had finished and L. Q. C. Lamar, spokesman for Mississippi, rose to second the resolution and to deliver his now-famous "Eulogy on Sumner." Edward Mayes, Lamar's biographer, drew this picture of him as he spoke:

> He was in the prime of life, full of vigor and physical power; but the illness of the year before had aged him somewhat in appearance. His dark abundant hair was combed back from his broad high forehead; his great gray eyes, with pupils so distended as to produce the impression of coal-blackness, burned with suppressed passion; his mouth was hidden by a long, brown, luxuriant mustache and goatee. His voice was full and clear—although it was evident that ill health had robbed it of some of its richer tones—well modulated, and pitched to suit the gravity of the occasion. He spoke simply, but with little use of the arts of the orator.[22]

Lamar's biographers, Mayes and Wirt A. Cate, and Kennedy in his profile, have all noted the moment of shocked silence as Lamar finished speaking, then the thunderous applause from all sides of the House, the tears coursing down the face of Speaker James G. Blaine, and Lyman Tremaine of New York rushing up to "Pig-Iron" Kelly of Pennsylvania to exclaim: "My God! what a speech! and how it will ring through the country!"[23] These three writers have also re-

[21] *Ibid.*, 3409-3410.

[22] Mayes, *Lamar,* 188.

[23] Mayes, *Lamar,* 188; Wirt Armistead Cate, *Lucius Q. C. Lamar: Secession and Reunion* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 4-5; Kennedy, *Profiles,* 153.

ported how quickly the speech was transmitted all over the nation, Mayes listing at random no less than eighteen newspapers from the Republican Boston *Daily Advertiser* to the Democratic Jackson *Clarion,* all of which generally considered the speech a eulogy with the purpose of reconciling the sections. Indeed, three Mississippi papers, the Columbus *Democrat,* the Canton *Mail,* and the Meridian *Mercury,* so misunderstood the speech that they accused Lamar of having surrendered Southern principle and honor.[24] Finally, these three writers have themselves accepted the contemporary view. Mayes used as the epigraph of his biography George F. Hoar's characterization of Lamar as "the inspired pacificator";[25] Cate referred to Lamar as "the first truly reconstructed statesman either North or South";[26] and Kennedy emphasized Carl Schurz's having "hailed Lamar as the prophet of a new day in the relations between North and South."[27]

Furthermore, Cate wrote that it was "the unanimous verdict"[28] of historians that the speech was a sincere eulogy which did much to close the gap between North and South, and a random sampling of biographies, reminiscences, and histories shows that this statement of Cate's is substantially true.[29]

[24] Mayes, *Lamar,* 189-191.
[25] *Ibid.,* 194.
[26] Cate, *Lamar,* 158.
[27] Kennedy, *Profiles,* 154.
[28] Cate, *Lamar,* 6.
[29] The following books and articles, arranged chronologically by date of publication, contain statements about or discussions of Lamar's "eulogy" which support the contention that the concept of it as a sincere eulogy designed to reconcile North and South has been perpetuated over a period of roughly seventy-five years: George F. Hoar, "Charles Sumner," *North American Review,* CXXVI (Jan.-Feb. 1878), 1-26; James G. Blaine, *Twenty Years in Congress* (Norwich, Conn., 1884-1886), II; "Confirmation of L. Q. C. Lamar," *Public Opinion,* IV (Jan. 28, 1888), 373-376; "L. Q. C. Lamar," *Public Opinion,* IV (Feb. 4, 1893), 421-422; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States* (New York, 1893-1919), VII; James W. Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (New York, 1901); Frank Johnston, "Suffrage and Reconstruction in Mississippi," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VI (1902), 141-244; James W. Garner, "The Senatorial Career of J. Z. George," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society,* VII (1903), 245-262; George F. Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years* (New York, 1903), II; William A. Dunning, *Reconstruction: Political and*

It is only occasionally that one finds a writer like James G. Blaine who, while referring to it as "a fervid and discriminating eulogy," also notes that into it was woven "a defense of that which Mr. Sumner, like John Wesley, believed to be the sum of all villanies."[30] It seems safe to say, then, that the general consensus from the time Lamar finished speaking until the present has been that it was the obvious sincerity of his eulogy which resulted in its effect of helping to reconcile the sections.

But two of Lamar's letters would seem to indicate that the purpose of the speech was not quite so magnanimous and nonpartisan. The first, a letter to his wife, has been quoted by Mayes, Cate, and Kennedy, but none of them has pointed to the obvious contradiction. In this letter, written on the day following the speech, Lamar declared: "I never in my life opened my lips with a purpose more single to the interests of our Southern people than when I made this speech. I wanted to seize an opportunity, when universal attention could be arrested, and directed to what I was saying, to speak to the North in behalf of my own people."[31] The other letter was not available to Mayes and Cate when they wrote their accounts of the purpose and reception of the eulogy. (It is questionable whether it was available to Kennedy; at least he did not cite it.) This is a letter from Lamar, dated September 5, 1874, and written in reply to a query from Clement Claiborne Clay, Sen-

Economic: 1865-1877 (New York, 1907); George Henry Haynes, *Charles Sumner* (Philadelphia, 1909); *South in the Building of the Nation* (Richmond, 1909), IX; Julia Kendel, "Reconstruction in Lafayette County," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XIII (1913), 223-264; Henry A. Minor, *Story of the Democratic Party* (New York, 1928); Claude G. Bowers, *Tragic Era* (New York, 1929); Harry T. Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic* (New York, 1929); J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, "Lamar of Mississippi," *Virginia Quarterly Review*, VII (Jan. 1932), 77-89; James Truslow Adams, *America's Tragedy* (New York, 1934); Paul H. Buck, *Road to Reunion, 1865-1900* (Boston, 1937); Robert S. Henry, *Story of Reconstruction* (Indianapolis, 1938); Ellis Merton Coulter, *South During Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947); S. Price Gilbert, "The Lamars of Georgia," *American Bar Association Journal*, XXXIV (1948), 1100-1102.

[30] Blaine, *Twenty Years*, II, 546.

[31] Quoted in Mayes, *Lamar*, 188.

ator from Alabama from 1853 to 1861, asking why Lamar had accepted the invitation to speak in memory of Sumner.[32] In the course of the letter, Lamar tried, feebly it would seem, to convince Clay that a decided change had taken place in Sumner:

> I know it is difficult, knowing Sumner at the time *you* were with him, to think of him as a subject of eulogioum from such a man as I am. But his relation to parties and to us had been greatly changed if not entirely reversed. The most advanced & offensive assailant of our institutions, when you were his senatorial associate, he had become an advocate of amnesty & peace & fraternity with our people. . . . It is true that he still advocated the Civil Rights Bill, which, in my opinion, is a measure of wrong & injustice & grievous injury to our people. I do not believe, however, that he meant it as a humiliation to us. It was, in his eye, a consumation of his lifelong struggle for equal rights. Intensely opposed as I am to that measure I must say that if Mr. S. had not supported it he would not have been in harmony with himself.[33]

But Lamar's feelings about the change in Sumner become almost irrelevant in the light of the fact that he also told Clay that the eulogy was "dictated by no *pseudo* 'magnanimity,' but by a concern for the Southern people, a love for them with their helpless families which is a stronger feeling in my heart than any indignation I feel for their undeserved wrongs."[34] When he went to Washington, he said, he had seen immediately that though many Northerners might be disposed to sympathize with the South, they never listened to Southern spokesmen. These spokesmen always tried to declare the submission of the South and at the same time argue a position; and the Northerner, his mind closed to the argument, failed too to hear the declaration. The trick was to find

[32] Mattie Russell, "Why Lamar Eulogized Sumner," *Journal of Southern History*, XXI (August 1955), 374-378.
[33] *Ibid.*, 376-377.
[34] *Ibid.*, 375.

> an *occasion* on which they would *listen*, & listen with something of a feeling of *sympathy*. I thought the death of Sumner was such an occasion. He was a man who had perhaps the largest personal following in the country. *Every word said about him, on the occasion of his funeral, would be read all over the North, especially among those classes who have never given us a hearing.*[35]

Lamar was proved right in his prophecy of the numbers of Northerners his tribute would reach. But if a tribute to Sumner would at just this moment reach all the North, it was equally true that, spoken by Lamar of Mississippi, it would also reach all the South. And this fact, too, was well known to Lamar, for in this same letter he wrote: "I felt that the time had come for me to stake my political life."[36] But when he said "stake" he in no sense meant "give up"; he was going to bring to this speech all the knowledge of national and sectional politics and animosities, of group psychology, of timing, of rhetoric, and of outright cunning and word-twisting that he had acquired in over twenty-five years of experience before the bar and in legislatures, state and national, Confederate and Union. The result was a masterpiece of wirewalking.

The first two sentences of Lamars' speech were contrived to allay suspicion and to assure his auditors in the House, and for that matter in the nation, that they were going to like what they were about to hear; he was going to add to Hoar's tribute a few remarks which "express a sentiment which pervades the hearts of all people whose representatives are here assembled."[37] Then he immediately pointed out that he was about to make an assertion which ten years previously it would have been impossible to make: "To-day Mississippi regrets the death of CHARLES SUMNER." The reminder was, of course, that in 1864, the death of Sumner would have been

[35] *Ibid.*, 375. The italics are Lamar's.

[36] *Ibid.*, 378.

[37] Unless otherwise noted, all directly quoted material in this detailed analysis of the speech is taken from the *Congressional Record*, 43 Cong., 1 Sess., 3410-3411.

an occasion for rejoicing in Mississippi. And the regret was not because of "the splendor of his intellect" or "the high culture" or "the varied learning," but because of "those peculiar and strongly marked moral traits of his character . . . which made him for a long period of time to a large portion of his countrymen the object of as deep and passionate a hostility as to another he was one of enthusiastic admiration." The word "peculiar" with its multiple connotations was cleverly chosen, and Lamar wound up the first paragraph with a second indication that he had not forgotten the Southern hostility to Sumner.

Continuing, he said that he would leave it to others (as well he might) to speak of Sumner's "intellectual superiority," the "qualities that gave him eminence not only in our country, but throughout the world; and which have made the name of CHARLES SUMNER an integral part of our nation's glory." And, one might add, these qualities were the proper subject of a conventional eulogy. But Lamar preferred to speak of something else: "The characteristics which brought the illustrious Senator who has just passed away into direct and bitter antagonism for years with my own State and her sister States of the South." And so the second paragraph closed with yet a third reference to the conventional Southern view of Sumner.

And what were these "peculiar" moral traits? They were "an instinctive love of freedom . . . the natural and indefeasible right of every intelligent being having the outward form of man," and "a moral sensibility keenly intense and vivid, a conscientiousness which would never permit him to swerve by the breadth of a hair from what he pictured to himself as the path of duty." Here, again, Lamar's phraseology requires close attention. The phrase "having the outward form of man" allowed Sumner to consider the Negro deserving of liberty and at the same time did not deprive the Southerner of the right to deny the Negro liberty if he chose to decide on something more or other than "the outward form of man" as the basis for granting it. As for Lamar's description

of the second quality, he might just as well have called Sumner a fanatic and had done with it.

A full understanding of what Lamar was doing in the next paragraph necessitates quoting it at length:

> To a man thoroughly permeated and imbued with such a creed, and animated and constantly actuated by such a spirit of devotion, to behold a human being or a race of human beings restrained of their natural right to liberty, for no crime by him or them committed, was to feel all the belligerent instincts of his nature aroused to combat. The fact was to him a wrong that no logic could justify. It mattered not how humble in the scale of rational existence the subject of this restraint might be, how dark his skin, or how dense his ignorance. Behind all that lay for him the great principle that liberty is the birthright of all humanity, and that every individual of every race who has a soul to save is entitled to the freedom which may enable him to work out his salvation. It mattered not that the slave might be contented with his lot; that his actual condition might be immeasurably more desirable than that from which it had transplanted him; that it gave him physical comfort, mental and moral elevation, and religious culture not possessed by his race in any other condition; that his bonds had not been placed upon his hands by the living generation; that the mixed social system of which he formed an element had been regarded by the fathers of the Republic, and by the ablest statesmen who had risen up after them, as too complicated to be broken up without danger to society, itself, or even to civilization; or, finally, that the actual state of things had been recognized and explicitly sanctioned by the very organic law of the Republic. Weighty as these considerations might be, formidable as were the difficulties in the way of the practical enforcement of his great principle, he held none the less that it must sooner or later be enforced, though institutions and constitutions should have to give way alike before it.

It does not take a great deal of insight to see herein the attack upon Sumner, who, blinded by his principle to all considerations of practical application, insisted upon throwing the baby

out with the dirty water. One is reminded of Professor Dunning's observation that Sumner "would shed tears at the bare thought of refusing freedmen rights of which they had no comprehension, but would filibuster to the end of the session to prevent the restoration to the Southern whites of rights which were essential to their whole concept of life."[38] It remains only to be noted that Lamar managed to charge Sumner with unconstitutionality as he slipped in the phrase that "institutions and constitutions" must fall before him, and that this protracted defense of the institution of slavery was strangely placed in a "eulogy" of Sumner.

But now Lamar wanted to "do this great man justice" because Sumner harbored "no enduring personal animosity toward the men whose lot it was to be born to the system which he denounced." Again it was the single word, the adjective "enduring," which emphasized the fact that Sumner once did feel personal animosity toward the people of the South. But "the kindness of the sympathy which in these later years he has displayed toward the impoverished and suffering people of the Southern States" had revealed to Lamar "the generous and tender heart which beat beneath the bosom of the zealot." However, he hastened to remind his listeners that though Sumner

> raised his voice, as soon as he believed the momentous issues of this great military conflct were decided, in behalf of amnesty to the vanquished; and though he stood forward ready to welcome back as brothers, and to reestablish in their rights as citizens those whose valor had nearly riven asunder the Union which he loved; yet he always insisted that the most ample protection and the largest safeguards should be thrown around the liberties of the newly enfranchised African race. Though he knew very well that of his conquered fellow-citizens of the South by far the larger portion, even those who most heartily acquiesced in and desired the abolition of slavery, seriously questioned the expediency of investing, in a single day, and without any preliminary tute-

[38] Dunning, *Reconstruction*, 87.

> lage, so vast a body of inexperienced and uninstructed men with the full rights of freedmen and voters, he would tolerate no half-way measures on a point to him so vital.
>
> Indeed, immediately after the war . . . he did not hesitate to impress upon the administration . . . his uncompromising resolution to oppose to the last any and every scheme which should fail to provide the surest guarantees for the personal freedom and political rights of the race which he had undertaken to protect. Whether his measures to secure this result showed him to be a practical statesman or a theoretical enthusiast is a question on which any decision we may pronounce to-day must await the inevitable revision of posterity.

And again it was the single word: not "confirmation of posterity," or even merely "verdict of posterity," but "revision of posterity."

Despite the sound of the foregoing, Lamar was still proclaiming the "spirit of magnanimity . . . which breathes in his utterances and manifests itself in all his acts affecting the South during the last two years of his life," and it was necessary to offer a concrete example of this "magnanimity." And the best he could do was to refer to Sumner's resolution of 1872 "to erase from the banners of the national army the mementoes of the bloody internecine struggle, which might be regarded as assailing the pride or wounding the sensibilities of the Southern people." Or perhaps this was a calculated choice, for it gave Lamar quite an opportunity for another display of Southern pride. Though the proposal "touched the heart of the South," Southerners simply could not allow such a magnificent gesture of "self-renunciation," because "conscious that they themselves were animated by devotion to constitutional liberty, and that the brightest pages of history are replete with evidences of the depth and sincerity of that devotion, they cannot but cherish the recollections of sacrifices endured, the battles fought, and the victories won in defense of their hapless cause." Here Lamar came very close to stating—if, indeed, he did not state—the Southern insistence

that the North be not allowed simply to forget the outrages perpetrated on the South. But if this was skirting a bit near, he recovered nicely:

> Let us hope that future generations, when they remember the deeds of heroism and devotion done on both sides, will speak not of Northern prowess and Southern courage, but of the heroism, fortitude, and courage of Americans in a war of ideas; a war in which each section signalized its consecration to the principles, as each understood them, of American liberty and of the constitution received from their fathers.

This was, of course, a plea for unity, but at the same time it managed to be nothing even remotely resembling a "declaration of submission."

After voicing his regret at not having known Sumner personally, Lamar came to that portion of his eulogy which most nearly justifies the conventional interpretation of it; but by this time his sincerity ought to have been at least suspect, and it should have seemed that Sumner was merely being used as a means to a desired end:

> CHARLES SUMNER, in life, believed that all occasions for strife and distrust between the North and South had passed away, and that there no longer remained any cause for continual estrangement between these two sections of our common country. Are there not many of us who believe the same thing? Is not that the common sentiment—or if it is not, ought it not to be—of the great mass of our people, North and South? . . . Shall we not, over the honored remains of this great champion of human liberty, this feeling sympathizer with human sorrow, this earnest pleader for the exercise of human tenderness and charity, lay aside the concealments which serve only to perpetuate misunderstandings and distrust, and frankly confess that on both sides we most earnestly desire to be one; one not merely in community of language and literature and traditions and country; but more, and better than all that, one also in feeling and heart?

All this has, of course, a decided "Brutus-is-an-honorable-man" ring of irony, for Lamar knew perfectly well that "this feeling sympathizer with human sorrow" was supposed to have spent his last breath urging Attorney-General Hoar to "take care of the Civil Rights Bill."[39] But perhaps Lamar meant to suggest that now—now that Sumner was dead—some strides might be made toward amity between the sections.

However, lest he should have given the impression that such reconciliation could be easily achieved, there remained time for one last picture:

> The South—prostrate, exhausted, drained of her lifeblood, as well as of her material resources, yet still honorable and true—accepts the bitter award of the bitter arbitrament without reservation, resolutely determined to abide the result with chivalrous fidelity; yet as if struck dumb by the magnitude of her reverses, she suffers on in silence.
>
> The North, exultant in her triumph, and elated by success, still cherishes, as we are assured, a heart full of magnanimous emotions toward her disarmed and discomfited antagonist; and yet, as if mastered by some mysterious spell, silencing her better impulses, her words and acts are the words and acts of suspicion and distrust.

And leaving his listeners with that picture, Lamar delivered his peroration:

> Would that the spirit of the illustrious dead whom we lament to-day could speak from the grave to both parties to the deplorable discord in tones which should reach each and every heart throughout this broad territory: "My countrymen! *know* one another, and you will *love* one another."

It remains only to point out that much of the substance of this speech was written almost two years earlier, on July 15, 1872, in a letter to Charles Reemelin, an Ohio friend. The final paragraph of that letter read:

[39] Cate, *Lamar*, 1.

> He indeed would be a patriot and benefactor who could awake them from their profound egotism, and say to them with effectual command: "My countrymen, *know* one another." For then nature herself with her mighty voice would exclaim: "*Love* one another."[40]

It is hardly credible that Lamar honestly believed that Charles Sumner could have been that "patriot and benefactor," but he was willing to say it on the proper occasion; and in so doing, he became the "patriot and benefactor" himself.

From the foregoing summary, letters, and analysis, therefore, may be drawn certain conclusions which do not square with the conventional version of Lamar's eulogy of Sumner. First, internal evidence can be produced to show that it was not a eulogy at all, but a utilization of the occasion for purpose of gaining attention to a plea for better understanding between the South and the North, and, indeed, often a plea for better understanding of the South by the North. Second, much of what Lamar said does not sound as if these were the words of the "inspired pacificator" or the "first truly reconstructed statesman," but rather as if they were the words of the "fire-eater" of the secession conventions. Third, Lamar was in this speech doing precisely what he had objected to in other Southern spokesmen—declaring submission but at the same time arguing a position; and, ironically, the speech apparently had its desired effect because of precisely what he objected to in the Northerners—they were not listening. And, finally, it may not be going too far to suggest that the success of the speech derived partly from the fact that Northern feeling toward the South had reached the point at which Northerners were becoming willing to meet Southerners halfway regardless of what they said.

[40] Quoted in Mayes, *Lamar*, 182.

Book Reviews

History and the Homeric Iliad. By Denys L. Page. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959. Pp. vi, 350. Illustrations, appendixes, index. $8.00.)

The decipherment of Minoan Linear B by the late Michael Ventris in 1952 had the effect of an atomic explosion on the little world of Minoan-Mycenaean-Homeric studies. One of its consequences was a release of scholarly energy, and, just as everyone who had carried a water bucket at Los Alamos in 1945 became a scientist overnight, so after 1952 many classicists, linguists, historians, and archaeologists suddenly became experts in Greek prehistory. A literature of horrendous proportions has mushroomed over the academic sky. There has been a spate of papers, articles, monographs, and books on Mycenaean political, economic, and religious affairs; there have been attempted decipherments of Linear A, the Minoan hieroglyphic script, and the Phaestus Disk; many studies of the Mycenaean dialect and its relation to the dialect of Homer have been made; and there have been innumerable comparisons and analyses of Mycenaean culture with that revealed (or concealed) in the Homeric poems. Emmett Bennett's *Nestor,* which is invaluable for its coverage of the new Mycenaean bibliography, has totaled eighty pages in the last two years alone.

If everything that has been said or written about Greek prehistory in the last septennium represented a real contribution to knowledge, one could endure this outpouring with patience, if not with equanimity, but the truth is that speculation and partisanship have been unbounded. Hypotheses supported by a minimum of fact—even wild guesses—are to be found side by side with theories formulated in a much more responsible manner. One assumes that progress is being made, but from the literature of the last seven years, it is possible to find support for almost any view one may wish to propound. Eventually the winnowing will take place; it will be a backbreaking job and the residue may be slight.

It is therefore encouraging to report that Denys Page appears to have made several contributions of importance in this current volume of the Sather Classical Lectures. At the end of 1957, when the lectures were actually delivered in Berkeley, a less qualified approval might have been possible, but the field has moved on since then and some of Page's material is out-of-date. The book would be much more effective, too, if the arguments by which Page convinces himself were equally convincing to his readers.

Page begins, at least, with two statements which all will accept: "Greek epic poetry told of the siege and sack of Troy: and the ruins of Hissarlik

in the Troad prove that a strong fortress was violently destroyed at a date not far removed from the one assigned by tradition." He is never able to prove, however, that Hissarlik was attacked by the Achaeans or that it was the site Homer had in mind or that Homer's siege of Troy ever occurred. In all fairness to Page, it should be noted that no one else has been able to solve this triple equation either.

Page's book is divided into six chapters and an appendix. He begins with an excellent survey of the Hittite documents which refer to the mysterious kingdom of Ahhijawa, and he would like to persuade us that its people were Greeks (Achaeans) and that they lived on the island of Rhodes. The arguments for Ahhijawa as Rhodes are plausible enough, but he fails to make the connection with the Achaeans. In the second chapter there is an equally admirable survey of the results of the excavations at Hissarlik; we can agree with him that the bases of Trojan prosperity were horse-raising and a textile industry. Chapter III attempts and fails to prove that the Achaeans, or even the Ahhijawa people, were the attackers who destroyed Troy VII-a. Hittite Truisa and Wilusija do not have to be Troy and Ilios; they could just as well be Tarsus and Elaeussa. The most important and valuable chapter is the fourth in which it is shown that the Achaean and Trojan catalogues contained in the *Iliad* were inherited from the later Mycenaean period and were transmitted orally through the Dark Ages; both catalogues are "Orders of Battle" preserved independently of the tradition culminating in the *Iliad*. The documents from Cnossus and Pylos discussed in Chapter V call for no comment here, since this is the most "dated" portion of the book; however, this rather poor chapter is offset by the one which follows wherein Page takes up the Homeric dialect and the formulae used in the Greek epic to demonstrate convincingly how the names of places and objects unknown to the post-Mycenaean world were preserved in the oral poetry. "Multiple Authorship in the *Iliad*," devised as a spare lecture and not delivered in Berkeley at all, appears as an appendix and constitutes one of the most stimulating sections of the book.

In short, Page is at his best when he is dealing with the *Iliad* itself, yet, despite its shortcomings, the book as a whole must be rated as one of the best on the Homeric question to appear in the last decade. In the past two years, research emphasis has shifted to the beginning rather than the end of the Mycenaean Age, and the vexing question of the date of the arrival of the Achaeans (whether in Middle or Late Helladic) may eventually throw some light on the whole Mycenaean period. Moreover, the reported discovery of an *Argonautica* in the tablets from Enkomi may have catastrophic effects. If Greek epic poetry was written in a syllabic script during the Dark Ages, certain current and popular theories about the oral composition and transmission of the epic may have to be substantially revised.

University of Minnesota Tom B. Jones

The Historian

Political Origins of the New Diplomacy, 1917-1918. By Arno J. Mayer. (New Haxen: Yale University Press, 1959. Pp. xiv, 435. Bibliography, index. $6.00.)

Arno J. Mayer's book is a stimulating study of the forces that created the "New Diplomacy" in Europe during 1917-1918. Its value consists in an analysis of the connection between domestic and foreign policies and of the role played by the Left, or as the author prefers to call it the "forces of movement," during the First World War. Mayer examines the effects of the war on internal politics and describes the political truce known in France under the name of *union sacrée* or in Germany as *Burgfrieden*. This truce enabled the governments to concentrate on the conduct of war and traditional secret diplomacy and resulted in the consolidation of the center and rightist parties. The author brings out well the contrast between the old-style diplomacy and the desire for new principles to regulate international relations. After defining the New Diplomacy which embraced both diplomatic methods and objectives, he aptly characterizes the "carriers" of these ideas: the Socialist groups, the leftist intellectuals, and the Radical wing of Liberalism. Their lack of agreement on New Diplomacy and the consolidation of groups in power prevented a contest between the Old Diplomacy and the New until the outbreak of the Russian Revolution. "Forces of movement" then began an offensive, stages of which were the Reichstag resolution of July 19, Lloyd George's speech to the Trades Union Congress on January 5, 1918, and finally Wilson's Fourteen Points. Mayer ends his story in an excellently written epilogue entitled "Wilson vs. Lenin."

The author sets out to analyze developments in England, France, Germany, Russia, and—to a lesser extent—the United States. The chapters dealing with Russia are perhaps weaker than the others—one reason may be the omission of material in the Russian language; another, any real intimacy with Russian currents. Mayer seems to be on far surer ground when dealing with Western than with East Central Europe. There are oversimplifications in his remarks about nationalism and socialism in the latter area. His discussion of national self-determination as used by the Bolsheviks is somewhat superficial and naive.

Despite its real merits the book could have been made more readable. It is doubtful that enumeration of all the lesser figures in various socialist and radical movements was necessary. Words such as "psychodiplomatic," "politicodiplomatic," and "psychopolitical warfare" are not conducive to clarity.

Mayer's bibliography is impressive even if his list of different party newspapers contains none connected with Russia. One wonders also why such an important work as Richard Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism 1917-1918* was not included. Nevertheless, there is no question of the value of the book as a whole. Mayer's

volume makes a significant contribution to the study of the politics of the First World War and surely deserves recognition.

Indiana University Piotr S. Wandycz

The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399. By May McKisack. Volume V in *The Oxford History of England.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. Pp. xix, 598. Maps, tables, bibliography, index. $8.00.)

Publication of a new volume in this authoritative series is always an important event of English historiography. Although the series is a cooperative enterprise, the editor has secured a high degree both of excellence and of uniformity throughout, and its volumes contain the best general treatment of the nation's history. By contrast with older works, the *Oxford History* includes extensive treatment not only of political and constitutional but also of economic, social, and cultural aspects. It is a pleasure to say that Miss McKisack's volume meets the standards of the series, both in authoritative scholarship and in content.

The greatest emphasis remains on politics. In this volume are described conscientiously the sorry reign of Edward II, the glorious years of Edward III and the early phases of the Hundred Years War, and finally the turbulent latter years of Edward and the mad reign of Richard II. In between are topical chapters on constitutional, legal, military, ecclesiastical, economic, social, and cultural events. Pictured for us is the wooded land that was medieval England, the network of roads, the villages and towns—altogether the stage on which the political drama was played. The institutions and ideas, through which and by which people are moved, are carefully delineated, especially those of church and state. Throughout there are many sketches of people, some of whom come to life rather differently than under earlier hands. One feels this especially for the women and the ecclesiastics, for both of whom Miss McKisack seems to have an especial sympathy.

Sympathy went into the writing of this book, but so also did judiciousness. This is a scholar's work, and the judgments are soundly based on learning, both wide and deep. A bibliographical essay of thirty-four pages does not attempt to list all the works referred to in the footnotes. The number of unpublished works cited offers the hope that the present work may not go out of date so soon as otherwise it might. There is much research going on in the fourteenth century, and one cannot suppose that further important discoveries and revisions will not occur. Meantime Miss McKisack has presented a remarkable summing up of present scholarship along with her own insights into the life of the century.

The limitations of the book are largely those of the series. It is probably because of the attempt to include so much that much is omitted. Thus, this is no work for the beginner, for it assumes a fair acquaintance with English history on the part of the reader. Secondly, since this is a national history, it may seem carping to complain of parochialism, but

one would have liked the background at least sketched in so that English development could be better seen in the perspective of other nations. Finally, and perhaps most disappointing, is the lack of unity, of a theme or general idea. In a national history there is virtually nothing on the growth of nationalism; after reading the political story in detail, one finds he must infer its meaning for himself. How can one explain the incredible blood-thirstiness of the politics? One is tempted to carry back Shakespeare's theory of blood-guilt from the reigns of Richard II to that of Edward II. Is there any relationship between politics and the economic and social changes or the recession which preceded the Black Death or the plague itself? What was the cause of the economic decline? Was it the political violence and the wars, especially on the northern border? The answers to these questions are not forthcoming here. But the evidence is presented in the best traditions of scholarship for Everyman to seek his own answers.

University of Connecticut Fred A. Cazel, Jr.

The Last Tudor King: A Study of Edward VI. By Hester W. Chapman. (New York: Macmillan, 1959. Pp. 304. Illustrations, table, bibliography, index. $4.95.)

The author of this biography has undertaken a peculiarly difficult task. First of all, to write the life of any sixteenth-century personage is to undertake an assignment which can rarely be fulfilled since few individuals, even the most eminent, have left behind the kind of evidence by which a life-like reconstruction of personality can be attempted. Second, the subject of this biography died in his sixteenth year. Given these severe limitations, Miss Chapman has done a creditable job.

She has made good use of the material at her command, and by careful selection she has been able to produce a vivid and authentic picture of the immediate environment in which Prince Edward grew up. The chapters on his education and on his relations with his tutors are particularly well done. The relations between Edward and Thomas Seymour are also told in a lively and plausible fashion. The middle parts of the book, dealing with the years of Edward's precocious maturity, are of less excellent quality. The King himself was after all only nominally the center of the stage in those tumultuous and highly significant years, so important to an understanding of the English sixteenth century and so badly neglected by recent historians. Consequently a narrative which concentrates on the sovereign loses force and focus. However, Miss Chapman controls her narrative tightly and does not allow her subject to become submerged in events over which he had so little control; consequently we have a developing picture of the young king through these years which has convincing qualities. The end of the book regains the vividness and vitality of its early chapters in the pitiful scenes of the young monarch's last months of life.

Miss Chapman has a good eye for illuminating detail and a discreet historical judgment which prevents her overplaying the merely picturesque or overemphasizing the melodramatic. The result is a well-written and entertaining biography which should appeal to the educated laity and should be useful to the student. She has relied on the standard authorities, skillfully suplemented by the printed original materials available. Her interpretation of the period is not novel, but her account of the young king makes him a more amiable and less priggish boy than the traditional accounts. She sees him, incidentally, as closer to his older half-sister than to the bluestocking Elizabeth. She properly emphasizes those elements in his predicament which are almost incomprehensible to a twentieth-century observer: he was expected to play the public role of king, to retain the dignity and reserve of an adult monarch, and to react to the world around him with adult responses. The author is not so successful in elucidating the particular kind of character which these circumstances developed in this particular case, although perhaps this is asking more than the materials provide.

In sum, this book is an intelligently conceived and skillfully executed biography of a semi-popular nature, written about a young man whose personality and character will always be but dimly known to us. Miss Chapman's estimate is perceptive and probably as good a guess as can be made.

Haverford College Wallace T. MacCaffrey

History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. By David Levin. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959. Pp. x, 260. Notes, index. $5.50.)

Was history ever a romantic art? This reviewer understands what Levin means by "romantic." He is never clear what he means by "art." Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman, the four historians examined, were men of letters. They were romantic. They were great historians. Whether they were artists depends upon definition. I prefer to call them historians and examine them as historians who could write history so that others could read it with joy. But Levin is a professor of English and I am a historian, and the four men are great enough to be examined for their rhetoric as well as for their history.

Levin's book should be reviewed in the light of his own purposes. He describes the literary conventions of the histories and the relationship between the historians' assumptions and their literary techniques. He then devotes separate studies to *The Conquest of Mexico, The Rise of the Dutch Republic,* and *Montcalm and Wolfe.* Unfortunately he does not examine one of Bancroft's volumes as well. Throughout, Levin is interested not in the historians as historians or in the quality of their history as history but in their literary art.

The four romantic historians, as Levin describes them, wanted to

paint portraits. They dealt in conventional character types, and for them landscape was not an ornament but a part of historical action. They also thought of history as drama and strove to find "grand, interesting, novel themes" and to achieve dramatic effects. They assumed human progress. They admired strong, natural, self-reliant men—especially those of Teutonic origin and those who were Protestant, but not those of other faiths or breeds who might, on occasion, be Catholic, Latin, Indian, Moor, or Jew. All of this is to say that the four were full of the prejudices of their own Unitarian New England. Perhaps the literary critic has a right to criticize them for these prejudices. Perhaps a historian would first of all try to understand them in their times.

With Levin's descriptive accounts of the methods the four men used in writing their histories this reviewer finds little fault. Levin has read the histories and he knows their literary faults and weaknesses. When he writes of Prescott's insensitivity to language, of Motley's repetitiousness, and of the weakness of Parkman's prose or when he notes the brilliant design of Prescott's *Conquest,* the gift of characterization in Motley's *Republic,* and the sense of specific place and fact in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe,* the historian can only say all this is true but must ask what made these men great historians.

Present-day historians need to learn to write. Perhaps one of the ways they could learn is to read Prescott, Motley, and Parkman. Another would be to acquire their immense learning while avoiding their prejudices. What Levin misses, I think, is just this: Great history is not written by men who lack learning, and learning comes before rhetoric.

Levin achieves his purpose, but the question remains: Should these four historians be judged as literary artists or as historians? Their histories are largely superseded, yet we can still read them with joy. Perhaps, then, Levin is right in examining them as literary artists.

Washington, D. C. Boyd C. Shafer

David Lloyd: Colonial Lawmaker. By Roy N. Lokken. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1959. Pp. xiii, 305. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

For this study of David Lloyd's career, Dr. Lokken, a research associate with the Wisconsin Legislative Council, has searched many an archive to find "his data." The product of much industry, this book is arranged like a chronicle and recounts those events in Pennsylvania politics involving Lloyd, whose public activities, 1686-1731, were rife with conflict, intrigue, and maneuver—matter enough for a good story if not for an intimate biography. Lloyd at various times fought either for or against William Penn, his deputy, the King's governor, the Provincial Council, the courts of law, the Colonial Assembly, and even the electorate. Just what his main objective was never becomes quite clear, perhaps just to get ahead and to keep going, but expediency more than constitutional

principles governed his actions and policies. His arguments, and those of his adversaries, too, show that in the New World, as in the Old, men devised political theories to justify the ends they sought. Lloyd's political philosophy was at best fuzzy, and Dr. Lokken sagely says that he "was not a Locke, Hobbes, or Harrington."

Lloyd's political circumstances frequently forced him to champion the legislative assembly against the prerogative—whether proprietary, gubernatorial, or regal—but he did so from motives more often personal than constitutional. His words and deeds implied the location of sovereignty in a unicameral legislature, but politics and partisanry and not pure reason drove him to put it there. Even in urbane Philadelphia, politicians were still frontiersmen in their constitutional thinking, and Lloyd was no exception. In his "Pamphlet War" with James Logan in 1725-1726, he showed a surprising lack of familiarity with—perhaps even ignorance of—the Revolutionary Settlement and John Locke. He denied that the Pennsylvania government was an imitation of the English constitution, and he strove to define—hence to limit—"the functions and powers of the Provincial Council and the powers of a Deputy Governor." But his vindication of the "legislative power," so far as Dr. Lokken presents it, reflects only rough-hewn ideas rather than refined reasoning. Nonetheless, Lloyd's chronic agitations over nearly forty years kept men aware of constitutional problems that they were to resolve only in 1787.

A paucity of source material has prevented Dr. Lokken from portraying vividly Lloyd's personality: the man seems lost among a myriad of trivial events. Nor is Lloyd's political thought, chaotic as it doubtless was, formed into an intelligible pattern. There runs throughout the book a confusion between thought and action, and this results in part from its chronological structure and in part from an actual disagreement among Pennsylvanians in the 1720's about the nature of their government. Lloyd's story might have been less obscure had Dr. Lokken distinguished the consequential from the insignificant. While the book exhibits one virtue of American scholarship, to assemble thoroughly the evidence, the historian's other duties—to select, to organize, to generalize, to draw conclusions, to interpret, and to narrate—are less well fulfilled.

Yale University William Huse Dunham, Jr.

Bluegrass Craftsman: Being the Reminiscences of Ebenezer Hiram Stedman, Papermaker, 1808-1885. Edited by Frances L. S. Dugan and Jacqueline P. Bull. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1959. Pp. xxi, 226. Illustration, appendix, index. $5.00.)

The life of Ebenezer Hiram Stedman is similar in many respects to a pattern created by thousands of frontiersmen in America's nineteenth-century westward expansion. Born in New England, he migrated with his family to the opportunity-laden west—but to Kentucky, the Southwest, instead of the Northwest. The elder Stedman went to Lexington

to supervise the building of a paper mill, a business which he had operated in the East. At various mills in the Bluegrass the young Stedman learned paper making from the ground up. He and members of his family were associated with some of the first such mills in the state. Finally locating on Elkhorn Creek in Franklin County, he successfully operated a paper mill and furnished the state printers at Frankfort with paper for thirty years. Although he overcame many misfortunes, including floods, fires, and bad business transactions, his business failed during the Civil War when the Confederacy failed to pay for paper it had ordered. After the war Ebenezer Stedman moved to Texas where he wrote his memoirs in the form of letters to his daughter in Kentucky.

The letters present a craftsman's vivid description of the struggles for business survival and success in the first fifty years of paper making in Kentucky. They also throw light on many aspects of economic and social life overlooked by traditional writers, whose chief interest lay in a description of the life of the upper classes. The author's primary interest was to reveal to his daughter as much as possible about the Stedman family. In describing his successes and failures, his sorrows and happy moments, he brings a little more reality to frontier literature. The reader is more aware of the problems and promises of a particular frontier business enterprise; he appreciates more keenly the resourcefulness and buoyancy of the frontier business man in overcoming handicaps. The reader learns first hand the perplexities in marketing and transportation and the difficulties in retaining a labor force in the changing West. One even admires the craftsman who began an enterprise by salvaging rags from the nests of rats.

The author's poor spelling is more than offset by his honest effort and enthusiasm in bringing to life some of the realities of his environment. Stedman wrote the first of these letters when he was approaching seventy. The editors note that he made a few errors in recalling names and dates, but his portrayal of life in the Bluegrass is highly spirited. One has to search far to find a more revealing picture of man's efforts to win financial success in the West.

Kentucky Wesleyan College J. Crawford Crowe

Martin Van Buren and the Making of the Democratic Party. By Robert Remini. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959. Pp. viii, 271. Index. $5.00.)

Professor Robert Remini offers in this volume a tantalizing suggestion of what may be expected from his work in progress: a full-scale scholarly biography of Martin Van Buren. One is inclined equally to reprove Professor Remini for putting off this sorely needed major study and to praise him for providing a useful fragment of the larger work. The strange neglect of Van Buren—the only substantial figure of the Middle Period who has not yet attracted a competent modern biographer—is reason enough for either response to Professor Remini's book.

The present study is distinguished by a thorough and precise account of Van Buren's strategy and tactics as he worked to create a national Democratic party during the period 1821-1828. Biography and political analysis, as well as social background and local setting, are subordinated to a narrative of national party-building which reaches its climax with the election of Jackson in 1828 under the management of a highly efficient and disciplined party organization.

After a brief (too brief, one feels) introduction to the man and his early state career, Professor Remini follows Van Buren to Washington and traces in full detail the successive steps by which the master of the New York Regency attempted to sharpen party lines and stiffen party loyalty during the Era of Good Feeling. One sees Van Buren taking the measure of his Congressional colleagues, attacking the no-party "heresy" of Monroe, fighting the last-ditch battle for Crawford and the caucus, restoring the New York-Virginia axis, and forcing the growth of a unified opposition party in reaction to the measures and manners of the Adams administration.

Professor Remini is convinced that Van Buren was not only a master politician but the principal architect of the Jacksonian Democratic party. If there is some question of the exact distribution of credit (or blame), there can be no doubt that Van Buren's role was central and indeed indispensable. Rather less persuasive is Professor Remini's insistent effort to dignify the political maneuvers of Van Buren, and the character of party politics in general, beyond their proper worth. Perhaps the moralizing of older writers too easily dismissed the solid merits of the Little Magician and his brand of party politics in a democratic order. Professor Remini, at the opposite extreme, tends to take for granted the prevailing sentiment of modern political science that makes virtues out of party vices. What may be necessary or usual is not always what merits praise. At any rate, the author is obliged to clarify and support his assumption that Van Buren's way was consistently the high road to the fulfillment of Jeffersonian ideals. Perhaps in doing so he may also develop a sharper analysis of the institutional character of the party whose development he chronicles so ably in the present study.

Professor Remini has drawn widely and effectively on the manuscript and printed sources relevant to his interests and presents his findings in clear, orderly, and sometimes spirited prose. One anticipates his larger work with lively interest.

University of Chicago Marvin Meyers

A Reappraisal of Franco-American Relations, 1830-1871. By Henry Blumenthal. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959. Pp. xiv, 255. Tables, bibliography, and index. $6.00.)

In the terms of domestic affairs this volume covers in France the period between the establishment of the July Monarchy and the overthrow of Napoleon III, while in the case of the United States it spans roughly the

secession period from nullification to reconstruction. It begins with France groping for the resolution of the conflict between the old order and the new it found only after 1871, a struggle given further confusion by the rise of industrialism. An even more awkward America, stirred belatedly by a related economic growth, was striving to achieve national maturity while tearing at its own vitals. Although many of the relationships between the two countries were unpleasant, as Mr. Blumenthal points out, there were strong bonds connecting many segments of their people. They were, therefore, joint participants in the same historic drama, even though at times they may have bickered in public.

In approaching the relations between the two, the author has chosen the topical treatment, beginning with the ideological, diplomatic, and economic aspects before reviewing in succession the issues arising from the Civil War, the Maximilian Affair, and the Franco-Prussian War. The reader cannot help but be impressed by the wealth of detail presented, tightly packed in a relatively small number of pages, or by the multitude of references made to sources as well as monographic studies in both languages. Indeed, his many references form not only a highly useful critical guide to byways down which parallel investigations might naturally lead; but they can even introduce the reader quite successfully to subjects rather distant from the main theme—for example, to French foreign investment policy or to American opinion of French politics in the 1830's. For its footnotes alone, therefore, the work has distinct merit.

As to the text of the book itself, however, one cannot be quite so enthusiastic. While written in a clear manner, the presentation often falls into the repetitious pattern of referenced statement followed or preceded by a sentence of limited interpretation. Perhaps in part dictated by the topical outline chosen, this presentation robs the volume of the sweep the general subject entitles it to, for which the introduction holds out promise, and the conclusion suggests some afterthoughts. The author was not unaware of the problem, since he indicates specifically that he found it necessary to omit consideration of cultural and intellectual relationships, but he has included enough beyond the narrowly diplomatic to tantalize his readers. They get repeated glimpses of two great nations as their paths cross during dramatic episodes in their respective developments, but rarely do they see the whole scene. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that Mr. Blumenthal has produced a most useful book.

University of Wisconsin Henry Bertram Hill

Crisis of the House Divided: An Interpretation of the Issues in the Lincoln-Douglas Debates. By Harry V. Jaffa. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1959. Pp. 451. Notes, appendixes, index. $6.50.)

A new trend in historical writing has emerged in recent years concerning the political roles of Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln in the decade preceding the American Civil War. The familiar device of using Douglas as a foil for Lincoln is being abandoned, for today Douglas

is viewed more favorably by scholars while Lincoln receives heavier criticism. Professor Jaffa's book, the first of a proposed two-volume study of Lincoln's political philosophy, does not follow this trend. At first, as the author discusses Douglas's contributions to the political scene in the 1850's, he is quite sympathetic to the "Little Giant." But as he develops his case, his verdict goes to Lincoln.

The book encompasses four major parts: Introduction, the Case for Douglas, the Political Philosophy of a Young Whig, and the Case for Lincoln. Although the author professes to cover merely the period from 1854 through 1858, he devotes considerable time to a discussion of the origins of the political ideas of both Douglas and Lincoln by carefully selecting and analyzing their major speeches, some as early as the 1830's. His examination of their early philosophies of government in relation to general political theory, both past and present, marks one of the high points of the book.

Jaffa is especially critical of James G. Randall's interpretation that the Lincoln-Douglas debates were not significant. The author considers the role that Lincoln played in this contest of great consequence. He believes that Lincoln possibly prevented Douglas from capturing the leadership of the freesoil movement and even the Republican party by opposing him for the Senate in 1858. This thesis, however, lacks real basis and reveals that the author has not utilized the important sources available in this area. Douglas had but a remote possibility of securing any such leadership in Illinois, especially in light of the rather stiff anti-Douglas attitude in evidence among Republicans throughout 1858 within the state. Horace Greeley and his associates in the East, suggesting that Republicans support Douglas, encountered severe criticism from Illinois leaders, who would not welcome a man who had been their political Nemesis for so long.

Jaffa further contends that Lincoln's actions reserved for himself the future leadership of his party and compelled Douglas to take a stand during the campaign which widened the split within the Democratic party and contributed to the election of a Republican and a minority president in 1860. Jaffa concludes: "Thus did Lincoln forge a great link in the chain of events that led to secession and civil war" (p. 19).

The Randall view that slavery in the territories was doomed in 1858 regardless of the politics involved is also refuted. Jaffa does not believe that "natural limits" would have conclusively barred slavery from the West. His evidence to prove that slavery still had good prospects of spreading to the territories after 1858, although not totally convincing in itself, points to a need for a re-evaluation of the Randall thesis.

The study is not well balanced but is valuable. Too little is included on the issues of the Lecompton constitution and the English Bill, while the rather important factor of the Douglas-Buchanan breach within the Democratic party is nearly ignored. The volume, though highly interpretive, is based upon sufficient research. Jaffa's firm grasp of the intricacies

of political theory is quite evident. The documentation is adequate, but there is no bibliography. Some new and helpful notes on the Dred Scott decision are found in the Appendix. A brief sketch placing the Douglas-Lincoln debates in their historical setting is also included.

Because of the rather bold assertions by the author, who occasionally questions the validity of interpretations not only of Randall but also of Allan Nevins, Richard Hofstadter, and others, the book is certain to cause some controversy. Notwithstanding this reviewer's criticisms, the volume is a significant and useful contribution to a better understanding of pre-Civil War politics.

Indiana University Richard Allen Heckman

Ordeal of Faith: The Crisis of Church-Going America, 1865-1900. By Francis P. Weisenburger. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959. Pp. 380. Notes, index. $6.00.)

Thirty years ago Professor Schlesinger termed the post-Civil War decades "A Critical Period in American Religion," a period as shrouded in darkness as it was important. Responding to the challenge, a number of scholars have illuminated the American religious scene between the assassinations of Lincoln and McKinley. Hopkins probed the rise of the social gospel, Abell studied the urban and May the industrial impact on the churches, Farish dismounted the Methodist circuit riders, Morrow limned Methodist Reconstruction tensions, Weisberger portrayed the revivalist Moody, Cramer delineated the agnostic Ingersoll, Cross analyzed Catholic crosscurrents, Ellis honored Cardinal Gibbons, and Mead interpreted the shaping of post-war Protestantism. A number of other scholars laboring in American church history have in their more general writings also tilled this particular vineyard.

Yet Professor Weisenburger's volume is needed, for it covers the entire period 1865-1900; it encompasses Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism and embraces not merely one or two but many facets of organized religion. The reviewer knows of no single volume confined to this period so broad in conception. To be sure, Professor Weisenburger disavows any intent to tell the whole story; rather he endeavors "to summarize the conflicts in American religious thought and life as they existed in 1865, and then to trace through the life stories of hundreds of individuals the adjustments which were made to changing currents of thought and action." Thus, the focus is on ideas rather than membership statistics, theology rather than forms of worship, books rather than edifices, intellectual challenges rather than organizational changes. But these self-imposed limitations are, after all, not narrowly crimping, and the author left for himself a task of staggering proportions.

Professor Weisenburger proceeds to his task resolutely, after a feckless opening chapter picturing a sweet, tolerant, churchgoing America apparently unstained or unstrained by the tensions of political and economic reconstruction. Chapter Two probes the roots of anticlerical individual-

ism, centering on the careers of Father McGlynn and O. B. Frothingham, followed by an analysis of why some pews were empty. Chapters Four and Five treat the conflict between theology and the physical sciences, a reconciliation being achieved by most church leaders by the end of the century. In many ways more shattering than Darwinism was the assault from the "Higher Criticism," and this is the burden of Chapter Six. Chapter Seven points up the significant relationship between the social sciences and the social gospel while Chapter Eight examines new psychological developments, including pragmatism. Later chapters chart the triumph of Liberal Theology (nowadays in disrepute in Protestant circles) despite the resistance of the orthodox. Specific chapters also describe the questioning within Judaism and in the Catholic Church, while such manifestations as Swedenborgianism and Theosophy are dismissed, no doubt properly, in a few paragraphs.

Although the book is factual, fair-minded, informative, and helpful, it is not flawless. In the preface, the author states his determination to avoid "sophisticated writing which often sacrifices accuracy to the smart overstatement." This noble goal is pursued so grimly, that the book is unmarred by wit, grace, or elegance. The author also hoped to write "in a spirit of rigid objectivity"—and he does. Readers will undoubtedly disagree as to whether this goal was worth the sacrifice of critical judgments, gritty interpretations, and the unifying thread of a point of view. The author largely bases his approach on "the life stories of hundreds of individuals." Since he did not go to unpublished manuscript sources but rather relied on autobiographies, biographies, and (above all) the D.A.B., he sacrifices freshness, vitality, and originality. The author refers to research in the *Catholic World*, the *Congregationalist*, and various sectional editions of the Methodist *Christian Advocate*. Yet in the notes only one of these periodicals is cited—and that one only once and secondarily.

Despite the diligence of the author, there persist a few inevitable typographical errors and garbled citations. The notes provide a helpful introduction to secondary sources, although several important authorities remain unrecognized. There is no bibliography.

This volume represents a "synthesis of much widely scattered knowledge." Although Professor Weisenburger has labored long and hard and his claim is just, it is a pity that such a very useful synthesis is presented in such a restrained, pedestrian, and uninspired fashion.

University of North Carolina Robert Moats Miller

The United States in World Affairs, 1958. By Richard P. Stebbins. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations. (New York: Harper, 1959. Pp. x, 479. Notes, illustrations, maps, table, and index. $6.00.)

For ten years Mr. Stebbins has undertaken the formidable task of preparing for the Council on Foreign Relations an annual record of the international relations of the United States. Within a few weeks after

each year's end, he has succeeded in readying for publication a review of events that is notable for its comprehensiveness, precision of detail, and clarity of presentation. His accomplishment is the more remarkable because he must of necessity work without benefit of access to confidential sources and must depend upon meticulous and systematic coverage of day-to-day press comment and on the documents which governments see fit to release.

The present volume, like its predecessors, is no mere chronology. Mr. Stebbins boldly attempts to indicate the "permanent historical significance" of the year's developments. He orchestrates the principal events around this dominant theme: "Growth in Soviet capabilities placed the United States under pressure to revise its outlook in many aspects of international affairs, intensify its efforts at maintaining an adequate national and free world military posture, and adapt its international economic policy more fully to the requirements of 'competitive co-existence.'"

This point of view governs the author's examination of the course of direct East-West confrontations in the first year of the space age from the frantic Western search for an appropriate strategic response to the Soviet sputniks and ICBM's, through the labyrinth of fruitless diplomatic negotiations for a summit conference, to the toe-to-toe encounter over Mr. Khrushchev's precipitous call for an end to the occupation of West Berlin. Mr. Stebbins also interprets the whole global sweep of American relations in terms of the struggle against Russia and world communism. Thus, when U. S. marines landed in Lebanon, they entered a Middle Eastern drama of revolutionary violence whose "plot and subplot were distressingly simple: a gradual undermining of Western interests and positions by the advancing forces of pan-Arab nationalism, and a steady infiltration of Soviet and Communist influence, accomplished largely in association with the pan-Arab movement though in some instances in opposition to it." So too in "Awakening Africa," south and southeast Asia, the Far East, and even in the "forgotten" Latin hemisphere, the United States in 1958 could not, or at least did not, escape the shadow of its evil genii.

What is bothersome about the interpretative aspect of Mr. Stebbins' work is the unusual coherence which he gives to his tracing of policy and events. Although this coherence makes for lively and intelligible reading, one wonders if it is not too pat, especially when drawn so close to the moment of happening. In his undertaking to assess historical significance, Mr. Stebbins functions within a perspective set by his national affiliation and even more by the orientation of his intellectual family. Thus he presents as definitive the world-views of leaders of American opinion and the outlook of his former colleagues in the State Department. The interpretation of events therefore tends to be skewed toward an almost doctrinaire rationale of free-world resistance to the Communist menace. On the other hand, it may well be that Mr. Stebbins' account

does accurately reflect how American policy-makers understood the world of 1958 and conceived of their own handiwork.

If American conduct in world affairs has been motivated in fact by the kind of overriding obsession which this book depicts, then the portent for the future may be even more ominous than the forecasts of the most alarmist of Communist-phobes. For Mr. Stebbins notes, though with insufficient emphasis, that this conception of the *leitmotiv* of contemporary world history is not shared by many of the governments and peoples whose following we crave. Our position of leadership can be undermined just as seriously by a myopia which fails to see the world in terms which are meaningful to others as by the deliberate challenges of our Communist rivals. Undertones of such a process of self-isolation by self-deception can be detected in this playback of America's 1958 world role, but the author has not chosen to bring them forcefully into the open.

University of Pennsylvania Philip E. Jacob

The Man in the White House: His Powers and Duties. By Wilfred E. Binkley. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959. Pp. 310. Bibliography, index. $6.00).

During the twentieth century the American president has become unquestionably the most influential chief executive in the world and one of the most venerable. It is natural then that scholars as well as popular writers should devote ever-increasing attention to "the Man in the White House." In addition to the scholarly specialized studies several good general interpretations of the presidency have been made in recent years. This is all to the good since it is essential that the American people be kept informed regarding the real nature of their "elected king," of the man who both rules and reigns on a grand scale.

Professor Binkley has written a clear and interesting interpretation of the powers and functions of "the Man in the White House." Although he states in his preface that this was intended to be a "comprehensive survey" of the American Presidency, his book scarcely accomplishes that objective. As a thoroughly documented and critical analysis and evaluation of the presidency, it does not match his earlier study on *President and Congress.* Both text and bibliography make it evident that the present book is based primarily upon biographical accounts of the presidents and historical accounts of their times but even here some of the most valuable works seems to have been neglected. For example this reviewer finds it difficult to understand how one studies Lincoln as president without reference to the works of James G. Randall. Significant also is the apparent absence of what might be considered the most basic material for the study of this subject: the vast unpublished papers of the presidents.

While this book is not a comprehensive or unitary analysis, it is certainly an interesting and stimulating series of fourteen essays on important phases of the presidency, each one treated more or less chronologi-

cally. Some of these make a real contribution to the public understanding of the greatest public office in the world. Perhaps the most important essays for the general readers are those on "Apprenticeship for the Presidency," "The Influence of Nominating Methods," "The Presidency as Molded by the Campaign and Election," and "Implementing the Presidency."

Professor Binkley quite properly gives his major attention to Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, Truman, Eisenhower, and the two Roosevelts. Although Polk and McKinley are not neglected, the two Adamses and Cleveland seem to be. In a more comprehensive treatment some attention should be given to those chief executives who permitted the presidency to lose power and prestige such as Madison, Monroe, Pierce, Buchanan, and the Harrisons.

In a broadly interpretative work such as this, quality depends largely upon the conclusions reached and the generalizations made by the author: Professor Binkley has demonstrated mature and generally sound judgment. Naturally in such a lively and controversial field, other scholars—including this reviewer—will disagree with some of his conclusions and take exception with some of his generalizations and prophecies.

The Johns Hopkins Press has provided an appropriate and attractive format for such a popular and lively subject.

Wayne State University Winfred A. Harbison

What America Stands For. Edited by Stephen D. Kertesz and M. A. Fitzsimons. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959. Pp. x, 229. $4.75.)

The essays comprising this collection, a volume of the International Studies series sponsored by the Committee on International Relations at the University of Notre Dame, were initially presented and discussed at meetings held at Notre Dame in March and November of 1957 and March of 1958. The Committee's symposia and publications have "examined primarily major ideological and political forces which influence foreign political trends in the contemporary world." Realizing that "a primary criterion of a successful foreign policy for the United States is the awareness at home and abroad of the meaning of basic American ideas and purposes in the contemporary world," the Committee undertook to elaborate "what America stands for." Following an introduction, three chapters deal with politics, three with economics and labor, and six with culture and religion. Five of the chapters were written by University of Notre Dame professors and the remainder by men from as diverse institutions as the Universities of California, Chicago, North Carolina, Harvard, Northwestern, Hunter College, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The editors and contributors are dedicated to the view that America has much more of value to contribute to the world than statistics which

measure economic well-being. They stress achievements in the realm of the spirit as they examine the ways in which Americans have governed themselves, how they have organized to make the material environment serve human ends, how they have sought to educate the children of the masses, how they expressed their longings and ambitions in religion, literature, and the graphic and plastic arts.

Most of the contributors reveal an optimistic faith in American institutions and exhibit restraint in exposing weaknesses and shortcomings in our collective life. This tendency is particularly apparent in the essays dealing with politics and the economy. More critical are some of the chapters dealing with architecture, the cinema, and television. The best essay, in my judgment, is "The Meaning of Architecture" written by John Ely Burchard of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. What he has to say regarding planning and building might well be said about other aspects of American life. The questions he raises are basic and for the most part unanswered: "How are we to achieve a sensitive and reliable democratic taste? Especially how are we to do this for a nation of people who are largely ignorant of and apathetic to the arts?"

One of the editors, Professor M. A. Fitzsimons of Notre Dame, in the last chapter raises the issue of the universal and the unique in American civilization. The issue is an old one. We have boasted of the unique achievement in building a rich and varied culture based upon the principle of self-government, and at the same time we offer ourselves as a model for others to copy. We face the dilemma of not being able to become an empire, yet we cannot content ourselves with a "preaching universalism, preoccupied with domestic affairs." Professor Fitzsimons believes that we can achieve a satisfactory solution.

The problem of what America stands for cannot be solved by one symposium and one collection of essays. The present volume, however, represents a thoughtful contribution to the discussion and will be useful to those who make the effort to answer the question, "What is America?"

Stanford University George Harmon Knoles

Freedom and Reform in Latin America. Edited by Frederick B. Pike. (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959. Pp. ix, 308. Index. $6.00.)

Twelve thoughtful essays on Latin American freedom and reform and their connections with constitutionalism, revolution, education, and other topics make up this volume. The underlying theme is that recent changes in Latin America and elsewhere have rendered the traditional hemispheric attitudes of the United States obsolete. The Good Neighbor policy, F. B. Pike points out, provided a modus vivendi; however, after turning away from Latin America during the last ten years, the United States now confronts a problem of "rediscovery." The editor rejects "one-worldism" with its assumptions of uniformity and presents these essays

in order to make twentieth-century Latin America understandable to a United States audience.

The essays sample Latin America at many points. Two deal particularly with significant long-term historical problems—the point being that the history of Latin America has been very different from the history of the United States and that the differences will not cease within our own time. The heterogeneity of Latin America's historic culture is analyzed in a paper by C. C. Cumberland to show the manifold sources of this culture and its relation to political instability. The historical sources of Latin American revolutions discussed by F. B. Pike are listed as colonial restrictions, personalism, the union of church and state, the cult of pure reason, the tradition of tragedy in life, individualism, the economic structure, and recurrent foreign forces, which include ideologies and invasions. Pike notes what is often overlooked that major changes have occurred in Latin America but that the characteristic Latin American revolution is a byplay rather than a cause.

The other papers, for the most part less directly historical, comment on conditions of the present and recent past. The themes of freedom and reform in urban areas are treated by W. C. Gordon; and those in rural areas, by R. N. Adams. The relations of freedom and reform to education are analyzed by P. A. Cebollero, to democracy by W. S. Stokes, and to constitutionalism by F. A. Hermens. R. H. Fitzgibbon evaluates the present state of Uruguay, long the model Latin American nation from the point of view of freedom and reform but recently in some disrepute. Bolivia, a late comer to reform, receives attention in a very interesting paper by A. Karasz. A. A. Lima surveys more conventionally the tradition of freedom in Brazil. The comprehensive essay on freedom as a Latin American philosophy and concept is provided by W. R. Crawford.

Each paper is prepared with authority and care. Even so nebulous a topic as freedom and reform in rural Latin America emerges in a substantial and concrete way. Several authors move quickly from the vague area of freedom to the subjects that they really want to discuss, but freedom and reform provide for all a common perspective and point of departure. The book is informative, and it successfully combines broad interpretations, current particularities, and history.

State University of Iowa Charles Gibson

Latin America: A Modern History. By J. Fred Rippy. *The University of Michigan History of the Modern World*. Edited by Allan Nevins and Howard Ehrman. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958. Pp. xiii, 579. xx. Maps, notes, tables, suggested readings, index. $8.75.)

Mr. Rippy's text follows closely the arrangement and treatment of his earlier *Historical Evolution of Hispanic America* (1932) in which his major contribution was a section on international relations. The signifi-

cant contribution of the present text mirrors the author's continued interest in diplomatic history as well as his pioneer research after 1932 on the role of foreign investment in Latin America since independence.

Analysis of the five chapters dealing with "Foreign Impacts" and their ramifications (chapters xxii-xxvi) reminds us that the Latin American republics in the nineteenth century were often pawns in a conflict among Great Britain, the United States, and Continental Europe. In a sense, rivalry over the Spanish and Portuguese empires in the New World during the eighteenth century was renewed. In the nineteenth century, however, new factors of change, and of friction too, were involved—capital, technology, and immigration. After the Napoleonic wars, Britain alone held the capital resources for overseas finance, and it was Britain which financed the early republican governments. Undoubtedly the British intermediaries in bond flotation "made enormous profits for themselves," but Mr. Rippy does not exonerate from blame the Latin Americans who "connived with clever European manipulators to defraud both foreign investors and their own people." (p. 333) The British, of course, soon ran into the competition of the United States in Latin America, and by the time the British were ready to compromise, the French, Germans, and Spanish were already contesting United States' penetration. It was Franco-Spanish propaganda directed against the "great invading republic of the North" in the early years of this century which shaped the neutralism of many Latin American republics during the First World War.

One of the merits of "The Dynamics of Latin American Economic Development," the chapter introducing the third section ("The Recent Period") of this text, is that it makes clear that the migration of capital, technology, and personnel was one aspect of the integration of the Latin American economy with that of the industrializing world. In the course of this process, as Mr. Rippy puts it, "Latin America became a weak outlying segment of the great industrial economies of the West," (pp. 389-390). Undoubtedly "foreign dynamic forces" accelerated the rate of economic growth, but this was no unmitigated boon. Foreign investment occurred in the absence of "any blueprints for balanced national development," it distorted national economies toward the production of raw materials for export and created the climate in which "anti-colonialism" and "economic nationalism" could later flourish.

The excellence of one section should not obscure the major weaknesses of this text: its paternalism, its failure to incorporate recent scholarship, its lack of originality in over-all treatment. It is distressing to read of Ramon Castilla as "a mixture of Indian, Spanish and Genoese Italian that turned out reasonably well," that Ecuador's politics in 1860 can be explained as "another spin of the wheel," and that after 1891 the "Chilean people . . . lacked the wisdom and power to push through important measures of social legislation." The era of Lord Bryce, when the politically mature could admonish inhabitants of the *republiquetas* to

the south in a patronizing fashion, has long since ended. The section on the colonial period is basically the section published by Mr. Rippy more than twenty-five years ago and reflects little of the recent scholarship; post-independence developments are clustered around despots and/or presidents, without adequate introduction of organizing themes or trends; and, finally, intellectual currents are divorced from the general historical matrix. Perhaps this indicates that further textbook publication might well be suspended while recent findings are digested and more basic research carried out along the lines suggested by Gibson and Keen in the *American Historical Review* of July 1957.

Princeton University Stanley J. Stein

New Zealand, 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact. By Harrison M. Wright. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. Pp. x, 225. Bibliographical essay, index. $4.75.)

This book is a study of the interaction between Maori and European in the North Island of New Zealand during the period before 1840. The theories about original Maori settlement in New Zealand come up for reconsideration and the "Seven Canoes" concept is questioned. It would seem that the author's special interest centers on the impact of the mutually inimical white settler groups—the missionaries and the profit seeking adventurers—upon Maori society. The impact seems to have been less than we had assumed. While the European contributed to Maori misery, the wild whaler is partly exonerated, and the missionary is held partly responsible. The early European in the island does not appear to have been any more perceptive about the native mind than Europeans in colonial Massachusetts or the Transvaal. European curiosity regarding Maori life focussed on the accessibility of Maori girls and on highly colored reports of *Tapu* and cannibalism. Judging always by European standards, the white failed to penetrate the Maori personality or to value Maori acts and attitudes correctly.

Until the eighteen-twenties, Maori culture shaped the European at the Bay of Islands considerably more than it was shaped. Europeans interested the Maori. Yet after the early stages, the Maori ceased to fear the whites. European weapons permitted the tribes to wage their traditional wars in grander style than before the coming of the European. In this respect European influences added greatly to the sum total of carnage and slavery in New Zealand. But the moral laxness of Europeans probably did little to undermine the Maori way of life which—by European standards—was relaxed especially in sexual matters. While missionaries during the twenties denounced the alcoholism and prostitution which seemed to be degrading the Maori people, the Maori, themselves, saw these developments merely as aspects of normal life extended somewhat by greater supplies of liquor and the presence of more Europeans.

During the eighteen-thirties a sudden and large increase in the move towards Christianity among the Maori developed. The author attributes

this to disillusion with the Maori leadership—which put its energies into bigger and bloodier wars—and to the efforts of European missionaries and Maori Christian teachers. By 1840 this trend was in full tide, leading to a decline in slavery and cannibalism. It is suggested that some Maori were tired of their traditional worship and were indeed ready for a new faith. Others became Christian to the extent of adding the Christian God to other forces already enshrined in the Maori pantheon.

The forties saw many changes, but a stable Maori society survived. These hardy islanders were still a majority unintimidated, and did not foresee that their rule of the islands had less than twenty years to run.

Although this books provides fresh material, sometimes interesting and useful, the author is much given to quotations and tends to repeat himself. The title is not entirely reliable because most of the book deals with the period after 1800. There is an excellent bibliographical essay at the back of the volume.

Colgate University Charles S. Blackton

China: Confucian and Communist. By Helmut G. Callis. (New York: Holt, 1959. Pp. xiii, 562. Maps, charts, tables, illustrations, bibliography, and index. $6.50.)

In the preface to his book, Professor Helmut G. Callis tells us that the "volume deals with a group of neighbors of over 600 million strong, with their past and present. Their future is now intertwined with ours. It is to our advantage to be well informed about them. . . . My intent in writing this book was mainly to draw a realistic picture of a great nation, its culture and its role in world affairs." In support of his belief in the unity and continuity of historical experence, he makes known his "conviction that cause and effect in history can be fully understood only by looking at a nation as an integrated whole." In order to realize this goal, Professor Callis has divided his book into three distinct parts, presumably designed to reveal a tri-dimensional picture of China: the first part deals with those cultural, institutional, and geographical ingredients with which we have come to identify traditional Chinese society; in the second he surveys China's vast history from its beginnings to the present; and in the third section he analyzes the present Chinese communist state.

Despite Professor Callis's claim that he has written his book in accord with "recent trends of historiography, by employing broadly the contributions and insights of other social sciences," there is little evidence to indicate that he has realized the goal he has set for himself. Apart from random traces of phraseology and a few instances in which he tries to explain the thought and behavior of men such as Mao Tse-tung in terms of childhood experiences, Professor Callis remains for the most part a narrative historian. Yet by openly committing himself to such a view in both word and deed, he has exposed himself to the conventional charge that the application of social science concepts, at least for the historian, can never replace documentary evidence.

The Historian

In the first two sections of the book, those dealing with the special ingredients of traditional China and its history, Professor Callis gives to the reader a conventional picture which serves to strengthen the impression that he wishes only to reveal the expansiveness, complexity, and diversity of pre-Communist China. Yet in so doing, he realizes a measure of success, especially when he considers the immediate origins of China's troubles in the nineteenth century, for Professor Callis apparently believes that the roots of modern China's malaise can and must be traced back to at least the first Anglo-Chinese war. While there are many points in his treatment of China's modern history over which one might disagree —such as his failure to equate the T'ai P'ing rebellion with the rise of a corrosive regionalism, his neglect of the profound intellectual crisis which faced Chinese reformers from Tseng Kuo-fan to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, and his buoyant account of Sun Yat-sen's life and work—he is unquestionably successful in showing how the disasters of China's recent past paved the way for the ultimate victory of communism. It is also worthwhile to add that Professor Callis does not mince words, for he demonstrates, on more than a few occasions, his readiness to dispel historical chimera which the American public have come to accept as revealed truth.

The most satisfactory part of the book is the third section in which Professor Callis exposes the Chinese Communists to a detailed analysis—which analysis, I should add hastily, is not merely limited to domestic policy and practice but also embraces in considerable detail Communist China's relations with the outside world. Here Professor Callis shows remarkable restraint and is always careful not to misrepresent the potentialities of his subject. For those who seek solace in the belief that China and Mao, like Yugoslavia and Tito, will break with Moscow, he is quick to point out that Sino-Soviet relations are for the present sealed by a mutual recognition of common interests which will more than outweigh differences that might cause friction and conflict. On the other hand, Professor Callis never minimizes the enormity of problems which Communist China must not only face but solve if its achievement is to be a lasting one. As far as he is concerned, the most crucial problem that exists at present, and for some time to come, is the need for the Chinese to reconcile their economic aspirations with their massive demographic problem. And he is correct in his judgment when he argues that the pitfalls of the problem are all too clear while the corresponding solutions still remain uncertain.

It may be that it is still too early to write a definitive history of modern China, that we are too close to the events which have shaped China today; perhaps it is also true that our best efforts must suffer necessarily because of a deficiency in material. But whatever the case may be, Professor Callis has shown a conscious awareness of these and other handicaps and has succeeded in writing a book well worth reading.

University of Rochester Harry D. Harootunian

News of Phi Alpha Theta

National Activities

Phi Alpha Theta sponsored a luncheon at the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting at Louisville, Kentucky, on Friday, April 29. Dr. Edwin B. Coddington, National President, presided; Dr. Ray Billington of Northwestern University was the speaker. An informal council meeting of all members of the National Council, the National Advisory Board, and the Editorial Board who attended the meeting was held at breakfast on Friday, April 29.

Dr. Edwin B. Coddington, National President, has made a change in the composition of the National Regional Committee which was announced in the February issue of THE HISTORIAN. Dr. Martin Weinbaum of Beta Tau (Queens College) will replace Donald B. Hoffman as regional chairman of the Middle Atlantic Area. Mr. Hoffman will remain as general chairman.

Regional Activities

Phi Alpha Theta Chapters in the Milwaukee area have had a number of joint programs in the past several months. At the initial conference, held on the Mount Mary College campus, attended by representatives from Alpha Delta Chapter (Marquette University), Delta Phi Chapter (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) and Delta Omega, the host Chapter, it was decided to hold such meetings several times a year on different campuses and with a variety of programs. One feature of this cooperative development which may be unique in our society is the publication of a Phi Alpha Theta newsletter for the area.

The News Editor has received word that the following regional meetings of Phi Alpha Theta were held during April and early May: New England Area at the University of Rhode Island; Maryland-District of Columbia Area at Howard University; Oklahoma-Arkansas-Northeastern Texas Area at Southeastern State College, Durant, Oklahoma; Illinois-Iowa Area at Bradley University; Kansas-Missouri Area at the University of Kansas; Nebraska-South Dakota Area at Omaha University. Details of the meetings were not available at the time THE HISTORIAN went to press.

Scholarships and Awards

Ray Brandes of Zeta Omega Chapter at the University of Arizona has been awarded the Phi Alpha Theta prize for the best undergraduate essay submitted in 1959. Mr. Brandes' essay, "Opportunities for Research in Arizona History," will appear in the August issue of THE HISTORIAN. The Editorial Board did not award a graduate essay prize.

Chapter Activities

Alpha (University of Arkansas)

Bill Bardrick, Ronald Brumley, Mike Clayton, Judy Denton, James Fain, Bobbie Griggs, Virginia Hayes, Howard Hutsell, William McGee, and Janet Tarpley were initiated October 20, 1959.

Beta (University of Pittsburgh)

Benjamin Bast, John Bauman, Ronald Bloom, Emory Evans, Ella Fogel, William Garvey, Maurice Leon, Elaine McKelvey, Samuel Martin, Rev. Fr. Claude Pollak, O.S.E., Lester Rifkin, Frederick Sharrow, David Sypolt, Rev. Nomikos Vaporis, C. Mitchell Waterman, and Virginia Wilmot were initiated November 20, 1959.

With this group of initiates Beta Chapter has initiated a total of 1001. Mitchell Waterman is the 1000th initiate.

Delta (Florida State University)

Mildred Almond, Joyce Bowden, Shirley Fulton, Walter Goodbread, Andrew King, George Knox, Jr., David Lee, Milton McLaren, Jr., Thomas Marks, Jr., John Rice, Dennis Robison, Jerrell Shofner, and Orrin Whitten were initiated October 22, 1959.

Theta (Denison University)

Frederick Griffin, Denis Jones, Sarah Rodgers, and Elizabeth Sproat were initiated December 15, 1959.

Kappa (Muhlenberg College)

Barbara Fretz, Herbert Gishlick, Richard Hafer, Donald Hoffman, Jr., Myron Hyman, Richard Kirschenbaum, Barry Leighton, Edward Ost, Frederick Schwenk, Jr., and Leon Silverman were initiated October 19, 1959.

We extend our congratulations to our National Secretary-Treasurer and join him in welcoming his son Donald into the society. It would be interesting to know how many other father-son teams are in Phi Alpha Theta.

Mu (Arkansas State Teachers College)

John Bush, Norma Breckenridge, Terrell Lasley, Norman Neely, and John Stobaugh were initiated December 8, 1959.

Omicron (University of Omaha)

Arthur V. Corley, Naomi Coryell, Charles Hymers, Jr., Robert Ludwick, James MacTiernan, Eldred Payton, Jr., and Dennis Thavenet were initiated December 7, 1959.

News of Phi Alpha Theta

Psi (Kent State University)

John Ashby, John Farrington, and Richard Froehlich were initiated May 19, 1959.

Omega (Gettysburg College)

Robert Grele, Emily Payne, Dawn Schaeffer, and John Speck were initiated November 12, 1959.

Alpha Beta (College of Wooster)

On February 8, 1959, Margaret Loehlin was initiated; Robert Drummond, Gail Falls, Robert Jones, Barbara Koch, Sang Lee, Robert Mangel, Alan Schneider, Sandra Shaw, and George Wear were initiated October 12, 1959.

Alpha Gamma (Bucknell University)

Esther Angus, John Fisher, Mary Louis, David Lutz, and Karen Esposito were initiated April 15, 1959; Ruth Jones, Lynne Schubert, Janice Shipman, Jannet Stockham, and John Toal, on November 22, 1959.

Alpha Delta (Marquette University)

Mary Brock, Irene Calaide, Roch Carter, Jack Filipiak, Donald Fitzgerald, Della Flusche, Mary Hanratty, Hannah Harris, James Held, Mary Kelly, Stephen Lammens, Thomas McCarthy, Rosemary McCarthy, David Mellady, Mary Mross, John Skahill, and Herman Viola were initiated on November 22, 1959.

Alpha Epsilon (Southeast Missouri State College)

George Ketcham, Joan Klobe, and John Koch were initiated on January 7, 1960.

Alpha Zeta (John B. Stetson University)

Joseph Drawdy was initiated on May 21, 1959.

Alpha Lambda (North Texas State College)

Peter Becker, Sue Coffman, Judy Colwell, Bennie Cooner, Carla Easterwood, Dora Grainge, and Willis Lukenbill were initiated on November 6, 1959.

Alpha Mu (College of the City of New York)

Martin Eisen, Doreen Ellis, Arlene Gross, Sylvia Korabel, Lawrence Mayer, Robert Parmet, Paula Rosenkrantz, and John Teitelbaum were initiated November 12, 1959.

Alpha Xi (Westminster College-Pennsylvania)

Joan Antis, S. Allen Foster, Jr., William Morton, and Howell Thomas were initiated October 21, 1959.

Alpha Rho (University of Utah)

Franklin Allen, Ray Confer, Mary Conrod, Derek Gent, Eva Haslam, William Law, Gweneth Mulder, Beatrice Nelson, John Peterson, Richard Reeve, and Vance Rollins were initiated on November 17, 1959.

Alpha Sigma (Washington and Jefferson College)

William Graham, Jr., was initiated March 11, 1959; A. Hershel Kranitz, on April 8, 1959; and Norman Mass, Calvin McIntyre, John Olsen, and James Thornton, III were initiated October 22, 1959.

Alpha Phi (Michigan State University)

Paul Barru, Glenda Carpenter, Peter Fergusson, James E. Fitting, Robert Greene, Robert Henderson, Takashi Ito, Maryanne Jaarsma, Thomas Jordan, Warren Kneer, Douglas Miller, Robert Money, Luella Nichols, Glenn Niemeyer, and Helen Wilson were initiated February 4, 1960.

Alpha Psi (Muskingum College)

Gary Schwab was initiated November 11, 1958; Hazel Ault, Howard Evans, Gary Lent, Betty Palmer, and James Stuckey, May 11, 1959; George Sulzner, III, November 11, 1959. On November 23, 1959, David Philips and Suzanne Wilson were initiated.

Beta Alpha (University of Texas)

Rawlins Cherryhomes, Claude Davis, Sanders Hardin, James Hofheinz, Lucia Meador, Gurney Miller, Jr., Ruth Reynolds, Charles Scarborough, Paul Stallings, Edward Stewart, Fleetwood Warner, Raymond Weathers, Margo Wiley, and Dorothy Wright were initiated on December 10, 1959.

Beta Gamma (William Jewell College)

On November 20, 1959, Jimmie Abel and David Harvey were initiated.

Beta Zeta (Otterbein College)

Jill Davenport, Earl Farthing, and Alice Heft were initiated on October 28, 1959.

Beta Theta (Franklin and Marshall College)

Roth Hafer and Peter Carley were initiated November 18, 1959.

News of Phi Alpha Theta

Beta Kappa (San Diego State College)

Margaret Bearden, A. Gillett Bechtel, Mary Alice Bennett, Linda Blackford, John Brennan, Barbara Carlsen, Leola Cline, Edgar Dickey, James Gauntlett, Herbert Goodwin, Jr., Helen Heatherington, James Holmberg, Dorothy Leffert, Margaret Lester, Paul Merriam, Edward Paynter, Beverly Reynolds, Kathleen Rieser, and Rodney Walker were initiated on December 13, 1959.

Beta Lambda (San Jose State College)

Martha Allshouse, Gene Bernardini, Dean Flint, Leland Hayashi, Nancy Hopkins, Gwen Jorgenson, Josephine Oneto, James Pettee, Patricia Pole, William Ryan, James Shaw, Thomas Skinner, Jack Traylor, Steve Trow, and Robert Weiner were initiated on November 19, 1959.

Beta Mu (University of Richmond)

Mildred Bagley, Barbara Bertsch, Ida Clayman, Bonnie Cox, Ralph Cox, Richard Fralin, Barbara Goodwyn, Gloria Greenfield, Martha Hinkle, Mary Robertson, Nancy Simmons, Sandra Smith, Sarah Willis, and Jean Zelinski were initiated November 15, 1959.

Beta Nu (Davis and Elkins College)

Joyce Blacka, Gail Lewis, Elizabeth Reed, and H. Marvin Williams were initiated November 12, 1959.

Beta Omicron (University of Alabama)

On December 14, 1959, Rucker Agee, Jimmie Clements, Emma Coburn, David McElroy, Mary Pennel, Karen York, and David Young were initiated.

Beta Rho (Carroll College)

Carol Culver was initiated on April 14, 1959.

Beta Sigma (Franklin College)

Rebecca Burns, Beverly Dildine, and Elizabeth Franklin were initiated May 28, 1959.

Beta Phi (Monmouth College)

Barbara Ditch, James Hornaday, Karen Hutchison, Thomas Matthews, and Anita Slebos were initiated December 13, 1959.

Gamma Alpha (Rutgers University)

Frederick Black, Frank Cappelloti, James Foreman, Morris Garber, Philip Gulcksman, Glen Harris, Hermann Krumbhaar, John Osborne, Neil Reiseman, Brian Rodden, Jerome Shindleman, Daniel Starr, and Joseph Vadnos were initiated May 1, 1959.

Gamma Epsilon (Texas Western College of the University of Texas)

Stephen Lacy, Forrest Martz, and Rhoda Milnarich were initiated November 17, 1959.

Gamma Theta (University of Minnesota at Duluth)

Lorrayne Anderson, Gerald Cleveland, Peter Deretich, Linda Gronningen, David Halunen, Deane Lind, W. Gerald Nisula, and Benedict Tracey were initiated November 10, 1959.

Gamma Nu (Mississippi State College)

Howell Gwin, Jr., Victoria Holford, Charles Lewis, Wilmuth Rutledge, Edward Simonds, Alexander Simpson, Jr., Mary Sumners, and John Watson were initated November 6, 1959.

Gamma Omicron (Hope College)

On April 27, 1960, Michael Blough, Winfield Burggraaff, and Suzanne Evans were initiated.

Gamma Pi (University of Cincinnati)

John Brenner, Gretchen Jensen, Margaret Joering, Joanne Melillo, H. Eugene Risch, Anne Ritterhoff, Henry Sheldon, II, Richard Sherman, and Alice Vines were initiated October 30, 1959.

Gamma Rho (University of Wichita)

John Linnebur, Harlan Quinn, Charlene Taylor, and Judith Tomlinson were initiated February 27, 1959; B. Nadine Bollman was initiated April 30, 1959; Elizabeth Clark, Betty Dillon, Irene Hardcastle, Alex Hondros, Maria Awerbilow, Richard Wallace, and J. D. White were initiated October 27, 1959.

Gamma Sigma (Georgetown University-Kentucky)

William Arnold, John Maddox, William Sparks, and Bettye Turner were initiated October 19, 1959.

Gamma Psi (Washington State University)

Paul Anthony Beckett, Mary Bushnell, William Davies, Norman Forness, William Kensel, Edgar Muffly, and Carolyn Werner were initiated May 11, 1959.

Delta Alpha (University of Miami)

Carole Bauer, Theodore Corin, Gustave Danilowski, Frank Morgan, William Priestly, and Marie Zerby were initiated November 18, 1959.

Delta Gamma (Heidelburg College)

On December 2, 1959, Hajo Holborn was initiated.

News of Phi Alpha Theta

Delta Epsilon (Indiana University)

Mary Calkins, Mary Elsmere, Judith Hine, Richard Hurst, Fred Kimmey, Justine Tilger, and David Williams were initiated May 15, 1959.

Delta Kappa (University of Tulsa)

Mary Birbilis, Sue Cole, Jerry Goodman, Jimmie Haggard, Loretta Harp, Robert McCormack, Carl Oliver, and Lucy Young were initiated December 13, 1959.

Delta Lambda (Salem College)

Felicity Craig, Lina Farr, Catherine Gilchrist, Jane Givens, Lottie Lynch, Mary Moffitt, Mary Nuckols, Sandra Prather, Sarah Tesch, Sally Wood, and Janet Yearborough were initiated October 8, 1959.

Delta Xi (Utah State University)

On November 23, 1959, Jerome Bernstein, Don Evans, Bruce Griffin, Carol Kent, Ben Page, Max Peterson, Harry Reid, and Ronald Smout were initiated.

Delta Rho (University of Iowa)

Clifton Hart, William Bowers, and Richard Pierard were initiated October 27, 1959.

Delta Sigma (Kansas State College)

Harley Becker, Ada Billings, Diana Endicott, Firman Gladow, William Haas, Eleanor Hansen, Mark Johnston, JoAnn Mayer, Jan Peterka, Arnold Plank, Ray Porter, Jr., and Philip Rice were initiated December 10, 1959.

Delta Upsilon (Baldwin-Wallace College)

Rosalie Lazzaro and Pauline Wilson were initiated June 1, 1959.

Delta Phi (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee)

On October 19, 1959, Carol Baerman, Donna Christensen, Patricia Ladwig, and Michael Rasinski were initiated.

Delta Chi (University of Akron)

Charles Blair, Nathan Cardarelli, Ben Donatelli, Vernon Gillespie, Donald Louthan, Paul Waickman, and James Williams were initiated December 3, 1959.

Delta Psi (Union University)

James Pate and Jerol Swaim were initiated October 20, 1959.

Epsilon Beta (Ohio University)

On December 4, 1958, Wayne Bockelman, William Bullock, Donna Campbell, Susan Duebel, Esther Fleming, George Gerhardt, Stephen Hamm, Phyllis Harris, Nancy Owens, Donald Robb, Carl Sears, Donald Swift, and Freddie Wallbrown were initiated; Charles Bailey, Frederick Damaske, Marilyn Davis, Ralph Garverick, Jr., Frances Humphreys, Sally Lynn, Patricia Noon, Ronald Schenck, and Joseph Zurawski were initiated May 19, 1959.

Epsilon Eta (McPherson College)

On May 18, 1959, Dennis Dirksen was initiated.

Epsilon Lambda (The Citadel)

David Mortman was initiated November 24, 1959.

Epsilon Xi (Southwestern Louisiana Institute)

Shirley Buxton and Raymond Wetzel were initiated April 14, 1959; Charles Stutes, on November 16, 1959; and Eric Johnson, on December 17, 1959.

Epsilon Pi (University of Georgia)

William Jenkins, Mary Lindgren, Betty Monk, and John Rogers were initiated November 22, 1959.

Epsilon Tau (Northeast Louisiana College)

Charlene Correro, Alice Guyton, Annie Gwin, William Scurlock, Kent Tippett, and Emily Tucker were initiated December 10, 1959.

Epsilon Chi (David Lipscomb College)

David Walker, Jr. and Donald Rebb were initiated May 1, 1959.

Epsilon Omega (Long Island University)

On December 21, 1959, Gerald Singer was initiated.

Zeta Zeta (Lycoming College)

Elsa Eastwood, Dennis Jacobs, George Karschner, Robert Leh, William Moser, Jerry Penno, and Eleanor Pentz were initiated October 29, 1959.

Zeta Eta (Louisiana State University)

Richard Barton, Celeste Cavell, Joan Hatcher, Dianne LaCour, Patricia Lewis, and Mary Wooldridge were initiated October 30, 1959.

News of Phi Alpha Theta

Zeta Iota (Texas Technological College)

On November 17, 1959, Mary Ball, Ronald Benson, Carol Burrow, William Carrell, Lowell Cross, Donna Dreschel, Lindsey Godfrey, Doris Henley, Ronald Holley, Marion Lynch, Linda Moore, Deborah Marshall, Edward Matsler, James Osborne, Jr., Sharon Perry, Dr. Mitchell Smith, Caroline Wood, Harold Wolkinson, and Carolyn Watkins were initiated.

Zeta Kappa (University of Houston)

The Zeta Kappa Chapter held its fall semester initiation on December 11, 1959. Joan Ferry, Ann Sewell, Ann Tiller, and James Wood, Jr. were initiated. Former National President Philip G. Hoffman who is Vice-President and Dean of Faculties at the University of Houston spoke following the initiation.

The chapter president Neal E. Young has received recognition by the award of a scholarship key by the chapter.

Alan J. Going has been appointed Chairman of the Department of History, and Robert V. Haynes has been appointed Assistant Professor at the University of Houston.

Zeta Xi (Albion College)

Nancy Doster, Ross Fleming, Barry Fox, Marylyn Harrett, Richard Karman, Thomas Karman, Alice Kniskern, Elbridge Pierce, Donald Shaffer, Richard Turk, John Weeks, and David Yonker were initiated May 27, 1959.

Zeta Chi (Augustana College, South Dakota)

On November 6, 1959, Wayne Boese, Marlene Flieder, Douglas Hokenstad, Kenneth Holum, Duane Nearman, Jean Schroeder, Sharon Sievers, and Ronald White were initiated.

Zeta Psi (Wayland Baptist College)

Frances Hicks, Doyn Merriman, James Sikes, and Joy Webb were initiated November 2, 1959.

Eta Beta (East Texas State College)

Grace Jackson and Billy Skinner were initiated on May 14, 1959; on November 4, 1959, Joe Carr, Kenneth Casstevens, Donnie Creamer, Marie Davenport, Bill Jones, Charles Shaw, and William Whitten were initiated.

Eta Gamma (West Virginia State College)

Margaret Aitken, Clyde Bullington, Jr., Claro Deane, Frank DeWeese, Roberta Hays, and Frances McHenry were initiated December 4, 1959.

Eta Epsilon (Greenville College)

Lyle Beardslee, Julia Hannah, Janet Shaw, and Paul Smith were initiated November 12, 1959.

Eta Zeta (George Pepperdine College)

Ronald Miller, Earnest Moshier, and Michael Yates were initiated January 14, 1960.

Eta Eta (Northern Illinois University)

Allen Botimer, James Davidson, Nancy Dee, Jane Gertenrich, Roger Meiser, Frederick Owens, Roger Scanland, Bjarne Ullsvik, Mary Weiner, and Marie Zilly were initiated January 10, 1960.

Eta Lambda (Western Reserve University)

Thomas Campbell, Janet Cruden, Richard DeTillio, Dr. Arvel B. Erickson, Robert Garfield, John Joyce, Donald Klimovich, Lysle Meyer, Jr., Anthony Molho, Clarence Munford, Yanula Pappas, Rita Weiss, and Dr. Harvey Wish were initiated June 6, 1959.

Eta Mu (Texas Lutheran College)

Frank Allen, Burdine Becker Susan Boemecke, Raymond Gerhardt, Kenneth Jenson, Faith Kern, Joseph Menn, Delores Nielsen, and Dr. A. G. Wiederaenders were initiated January 18, 1960, as charter members.

Eta Nu (Texas Women's University)

Phyllis Abbott, Guadalupe Benavides, Delores Brown, Melinda Chaddock, Shirley Lewis, Sue Moore, Deanna Rundell, Dade Sparks, A. Elizabeth Taylor, and Sue Titus were initiated February 11, 1960, as charter members.

Eta Xi (Los Angeles State College)

Farrel Broslawski, Ann Cameron, Jorge Chavez, Pieter Dakkers, Donald Finch, Phyllis Furie, Clifton Garrett, Kenneth Green, Abe Hoffman, Patrick Johnson, Robert Katz, Y. Ellen Kojima, Barbara MacVicar, Loretta Morgan, Charles Murcer, Earl Phillips, and Floyd Singer were initiated February 13, 1960, as charter members.

Eta Omicron (Mary Hardin-Baylor College)

On March 5, 1960, Donald Anthony, Patricia Connor, Mary Grant, Patricia Hammack, Nancy Hawkins, Ruth Mayes, Virginia McKnight, Jan Schick, and Jane Tate were initiated as charter members.

CHAPTERS OF PHI ALPHA THETA

1921	Alpha	University of Arkansas
1922	Beta	University of Pittsburgh
1923	Gamma	University of Pennsylvania
1926	Delta	Florida State University
1927	Epsilon	University of Illinois
1927	Zeta	Ohio State University
1927	Eta	Southern Methodist University
1928	Theta	Denison University
1929	Iota	Colorado State College of Education
1929	Kappa	Muhlenberg College
1930	Lambda	Kansas State College of Pittsburg
1932	Mu	Arkansas State Teachers College
1932	Nu	Oklahoma State University
1932	Xi	University of Southern California
1934	Omicron	University of Omaha
1934	Pi	Northwestern State College (Louisiana)
1934	Rho	Southeastern State College (Oklahoma)
1936	Sigma	University of New Mexico
1937	Tau	University of Kentucky
1937	Upsilon	Waynesburg College
1937	Phi	University of Minnesota
1938	Chi	University of California
1938	Psi	Kent State University
1939	Omega	Gettysburg College
1940	Alpha Alpha	Lehigh University
1941	Alpha Beta	College of Wooster
1941	Alpha Gamma	Bucknell University
1941	Alpha Delta	Marquette University
1942	Alpha Epsilon	Southeast Missouri State College
1942	Alpha Zeta	John B. Stetson University
1943	Alpha Eta	Upsala College
1944	Alpha Theta	Hofstra College
1945	Alpha Iota	University of Nevada
1945	Alpha Kappa	University of Toledo
1946	Alpha Lambda	North Texas State College
1946	Alpha Mu	College of the City of New York
1946	Alpha Nu	Henderson State Teachers College (Arkansas)
1946	Alpha Xi	Westminster College (Pennsylvania)
1946	Alpha Omicron	University of Kansas
1946	Alpha Pi	Augustana College
1946	Alpha Rho	University of Utah
1947	Alpha Sigma	Washington and Jefferson College
1947	Alpha Tau	Winthrop College
1947	Alpha Upsilon	Temple University
1947	Alpha Phi	Michigan State University
1947	Alpha Chi	Cedar Crest College
1947	Alpha Psi	Muskingum College
1947	Alpha Omega	University of Rhode Island
1947	Beta Alpha	University of Texas
1947	Beta Beta	Stanford University
1947	Beta Gamma	William Jewell College
1948	Beta Delta	University of Puerto Rico
1948	Beta Epsilon	University of Colorado
1948	Beta Zeta	Otterbein College
1948	Beta Eta	Columbia College
1948	Beta Theta	Franklin and Marshall College
1948	Beta Iota	Brigham Young University
1948	Beta Kappa	San Diego State College
1948	Beta Lambda	San Jose State College
1948	Beta Mu	University of Richmond
1948	Beta Nu	Davis and Elkins College
1948	Beta Xi	Lafayette College
1948	Beta Omicron	University of Alabama
1948	Beta Pi	Georgetown University
1948	Beta Rho	Carroll College
1948	Beta Sigma	Franklin College
1948	Beta Tau	Queens College
1948	Beta Upsilon	University of North Dakota
1948	Beta Phi	Monmouth College
1948	Beta Chi	Drury College
1948	Beta Psi	Montana State University
1948	Beta Omega	University of Maryland
1948	Gamma Alpha	Rutgers University
1949	Gamma Beta	Bradley University
1949	Gamma Gamma	Mississippi State College for Women
1949	Gamma Delta	Women's College of the University of North Carolina
1949	Gamma Epsilon	Texas Western College of the University of Texas
1949	Gamma Zeta	Wittenberg University
1949	Gamma Eta	University of Minnesota at Duluth
1949	Gamma Theta	University of Florida
1949	Gamma Iota	Santa Barbara College of the University of California
1949	Gamma Kappa	Tulane University
1950	Gamma Lambda	College of St. Thomas
1950	Gamma Mu	Marietta College
1950	Gamma Nu	Mississippi State University
1950	Gamma Xi	Utica College of Syracuse University
1950	Gamma Omicron	Hope College
1950	Gamma Pi	University of Cincinnati
1950	Gamma Rho	University of Wichita
1950	Gamma Sigma	Georgetown College (Kentucky)
1950	Gamma Tau	Westminster College (Missouri)

CHAPTERS OF PHI ALPHA THETA

1950	Gamma Upsilon	Bowling Green State University
1950	Gamma Phi	Inter-American University (Puerto Rico)
1950	Gamma Chi	Marshall College
1950	Gamma Psi	State College of Washington
1950	Gamma Omega	Texas College of Arts and Industries
1951	Delta Alpha	University of Miami (Florida)
1951	Delta Beta	Occidental College
1951	Delta Gamma	Heidelburg College
1951	Delta Delta	Doane College
1951	Delta Epsilon	Indiana University
1951	Delta Zeta	College of the Ozarks
1951	Delta Eta	University of Dayton
1951	Delta Theta	Manhattan College
1951	Delta Iota	University of Washington
1952	Delta Kappa	University of Tulsa
1952	Delta Lambda	Salem College
1952	Delta Mu	Boston University
1952	Delta Nu	West Virginia University
1952	Delta Xi	Utah State University
1952	Delta Omicron	University of Connecticut
1952	Delta Pi	University of North Carolina
1953	Delta Rho	University of Iowa
1953	Delta Sigma	Kansas State University
1953	Delta Tau	University of Dubuque
1953	Delta Upsilon	Baldwin-Wallace College
1953	Delta Phi	University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee
1953	Delta Chi	University of Akron
1953	Delta Psi	Union University
1953	Delta Omega	Mount Mary College
1953	Epsilon Alpha	North Carolina College at Durham
1954	Epsilon Beta	Ohio University
1954	Epsilon Gamma	Wilmington College
1954	Epsilon Delta	Judson College
1954	Epsilon Epsilon	Central State College (Ohio)
1954	Epsilon Zeta	Ohio Wesleyan University
1954	Epsilon Eta	McPherson College
1954	Epsilon Theta	Hunter College
1954	Epsilon Iota	Wagner College
1954	Epsilon Kappa	Oregon State College
1955	Epsilon Lambda	The Citadel
1955	Epsilon Mu	Eastern Illinois State College
1955	Epsilon Nu	Memphis State University
1955	Epsilon Xi	Southwestern Louisiana Institute
1955	Epsilon Omicron	Catholic University of Puerto Rico
1956	Epsilon Pi	University of Georgia
1956	Epsilon Rho	Howard College
1956	Epsilon Sigma	Wake Forest College
1956	Epsilon Tau	Northeast Louisiana State College
1956	Epsilon Upsilon	Pennsylvania State University
1956	Epsilon Phi	Duquesne University
1956	Epsilon Chi	David Lipscomb College
1956	Epsilon Psi	American University
1956	Epsilon Omega	Long Island University
1956	Zeta Alpha	Immaculate Heart College
1956	Zeta Beta	Abilene Christian College
1956	Zeta Gamma	Howard University
1956	Zeta Delta	Adelphi College
1956	Zeta Epsilon	Thiel College
1956	Zeta Zeta	Lycoming College
1956	Zeta Eta	Louisiana State University
1957	Zeta Theta	University of Oklahoma
1957	Zeta Iota	Texas Technological College
1957	Zeta Kappa	University of Houston
1957	Zeta Lambda	Loras College
1957	Zeta Mu	University of South Dakota
1957	Zeta Nu	University of Nebraska
1958	Zeta Xi	Albion College
1958	Zeta Omicron	Park College
1958	Zeta Pi	Eastern New Mexico University
1958	Zeta Rho	University of the Philippines
1958	Zeta Sigma	University of Detroit
1958	Zeta Tau	Northeastern University
1958	Zeta Upsilon	West Texas State College
1958	Zeta Phi	North Georgia College
1958	Zeta Chi	Augustana (S. D.) College
1958	Zeta Psi	Wayland Baptist College
1958	Zeta Omega	University of Arizona
1959	Eta Alpha	John Carroll University
1959	Eta Beta	East Texas State College
1959	Eta Gamma	West Virginia State College
1959	Eta Delta	Nebraska State Teachers College
1959	Eta Epsilon	Greenville College
1959	Eta Zeta	George Pepperdine College
1959	Eta Eta	Northern Illinois University
1959	Eta Theta	Emmanuel College
1959	Eta Iota	Maryland State Teachers (Salisbury)
1959	Eta Kappa	Texas Christian University
1959	Eta Lambda	Western Reserve University
1960	Eta Mu	Texas Lutheran College
1960	Eta Nu	Texas Woman's University
1960	Eta Xi	Los Angeles State College
1960	Eta Omicron	Mary Hardin-Baylor College